FORUM

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Our human predicament and the way out

The Function of Knowledge

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I AM attempting in this series of articles to defend the thesis that, of all our major social institutions, only the school and the church have inner cultural and spiritual resources, and that the health of our democratic society therefore depends upon their vitality. I shall discuss the school in this issue and the church in the following issue of *Forum*.

Let us first define the term "school" very broadly to include all those institutional activities which are designed to conserve the wisdom of the past, to re-evaluate this wisdom in the light of the present, to increase our knowledge with new discoveries, and to disseminate this knowledge as widely as possible. Since the ultimate concern of the school is truth, its primary functions may be said to be the preservation, the critical evaluation, the extension and the dissemination of truth for the benefit of mankind.

Man searches for truth and values it because he is a conscious being capable of knowing himself and his complex environment and of benefiting from this knowledge. To understand the central purpose of the school we must know what, in general, we mean by knowledge and appreciate its importance for human life.

The problem of knowledge has been battled over by philosophers for centuries. The two extreme conceptions of knowledge have been those of the absolutists and the skeptics. The absolutists have claimed that man's basic quest is the quest for certainty, and that it is possible to achieve certainty either through revelation or reason or intuition or a combination of these. The skeptics, in contrast, have not only denied this possibility; they have questioned man's ability to know anything, even with reasonable assurance. As the Greek sophist, Gorgias, put it: "There is nothing; and even if there were anything we could not know it; and even if we could know it, we could not communicate our knowledge of it to others."

Most thoughtful people, meanwhile, have believed that human

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knowledge falls somewhere between these two extremes of absolute certainty and nihilistic doubt. We know a great deal and we can come to know more than we do now, but we don't know anything with final certainty. What the absolutists forget is the inescapable finitude of all human experience and understanding. Man's reason is finite, always liable to error, and man's experience, which reason seeks to interpret, is continually presenting him with new evidence.

In short, all human knowledge is necessarily relative to man's ever partial experience and to his imperfect interpretation of this experience. This does not mean, however, that knowledge is therefore impossible. It is impossible only if we define it in absolutistic terms, as perfect knowledge or omniscience. We cannot rival an omniscient Deity. But we can know what animals can never know. And we can increase and clarify our knowledge with individual and cooperative effort, as is evidenced by advance in all the fields of intellectual inquiry, and by the fact that, in every historical epoch, some men have been wiser than other men in this or that respect.

This applies equally to our knowledge of nature, of man and of God. The basic fact with which we are all confronted is that we are complex individuals destined to live our lives in a complex environment. This environment includes, most obviously, the physical world which we daily encounter with our senses and whose structure and regularities the scientist explores. It also includes human beings like ourselves who, throughout their long history, have organized themselves into groups and sought to satisfy their various needs by means of more or less enduring social institutions. Most men in all human societies have also believed that the reality with which we must come to terms includes spiritual forces which impinge upon us in significant ways, and that we can attain to our full human stature only by relating ourselves to these spiritual forces.

TYPES OF EXPERIENCE

Man can encounter and come to understand these major aspects of his total environment by means of different, though related and interlocking, types of experience, notably through sensory observation of physical phenomena, through social experience, and through moral and spiritual insight. And, though all normal people are presumably able to acquire some understanding of nature, man and God, a few gifted individuals in every generation are wiser in one or other of these realms of experience than are their contemporaries. These are the experts—the scientists, the students of society, and the great moral and religious leaders who achieve new insights and who are best able to conserve what is still valuable in the knowledge of older generations and to apply it fruitfully to present needs. These experts too are fallible, and their knowledge, like that of their fellows, is subject to human finitude and the flux of history. But within these inescapable limits they are wiser than the rest of us; their knowledge is less inaccurate and provincial than ours.

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Men have also disagreed over the value of truth and the function of human knowledge. Aristotle believed that knowledge is for man an end in itself, since man is first and foremost a rational being whose highest destiny it is to know in order to know. Dewey, in contrast, has insisted that man is essentially a being who seeks to act, and who pauses to think or know only when he is confronted with problems. According to Aristotle, we busy ourselves, if we are wise, in order to achieve leisure in which to acquire greater knowledge just because knowledge is good. According to Dewey, we seek understanding not for its own sake but in order to solve the problems which block action and therefore demand solution.

As in the quarrel between the absolutists and the skeptics, the truth has seemed to most men to lie somewhere between these two positions. (I have, of course, greatly over-simplified the thought of both Aristotle and Dewey.) Men *do* value knowledge for its own sake—not all men to the same extent, but most men in proportion to their curiosity and their ability to explore their environment. And men *are* under continual compulsion to act, to face and resolve perplexities. There would therefore seem to be no essential conflict between Aristotle and Dewey if we accept what each says as half the truth. The value of knowledge is *both* intrinsic and extrinsic. Man is so constituted that he can and does value knowledge for itself and also as an aid to conduct. An inclusive view of human history certainly bears out this interpretation. Through the ages some men have sought to know for the sheer joy of knowing, and all men have used such knowledge as they had to overcome obstacles and direct their behavior towards nature, their fellow men, and the spiritual forces in the universe.

If the nature and value of truth are conceived of in some such way as this, we can see what is meant by saying that the primary function of the school, as a very old and basic human institution, is to conserve, re-interpret, extend and disseminate human knowledge.

WISDOM CONSERVED

Were the wisdom of the past not conserved, each generation would have to make a new start and would thereby be condemned to a perpetual state of primitivism. A society is cultured in direct proportion as it is able to stand on the shoulders of earlier generations and benefit by the knowledge which has been acquired so slowly and painfully, partly by rational inquiry and partly by the haphazard method of trial and error. But this inherited wisdom must be re-assessed in each generation. The failure to do so and the tendency to accept older beliefs in an uncritical authoritarian spirit is the mistake of the "traditionalist," as the error of the "modernist" is the tendency to undervalue the past and to fail to learn what can be learned from its mistakes and achievements.

The only safeguard against sterile traditionalism, in turn, is the firm conviction that new insights as well as new applications of older insights are really possible now and in

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the future, and that mankind can strive more or less effectively to acquire new insights. This is the basis of all scientific inquiry, all artistic striving for new intuitions and forms of expression, all radical thinking and practical innovation in the field of social action, and all authentic reformations and revival movements in religion. And, finally, the only safeguard against an aristocratic snobbishness, whether scientific or artistic, social or religious, is a passionate concern for mankind on the part of its more gifted and fortunate members—a concern which expresses itself in a determination to make both old and new insights available to all whose native ability permits them to share in them, and to make the practical effects of these insights universally available to men in the form of a just and peaceful social order throughout the world.

The school, generically conceived, is of course not the only institution in our society which has recognized this responsibility. The church has, at one time or another, performed all of these functions, with distinctions, and the state has done much to safeguard and promote them, as has the press. But the school is the only major institution whose *one and only* responsibility it is to accomplish these ends.

The term "scholarship," properly defined, includes what I have referred to as the conservation, reinterpretation and extension of human knowledge. The term "teaching," in its widest sense, signifies the dissemination of this knowledge. The foregoing analysis should have made it clear that *both* scholarship and teaching are essential to the health of our society. It should be equally clear that both are primary functions of the school.

This conclusion will surprise the many teachers and school administrators who, along with the general public, believe that the chief function of the school is merely to disseminate knowledge in one way or another, and it would provoke the wrath of some research scholars (were they to read this article) who believe that the primary function of a university, that is, the school in its highest development, is to extend the frontiers of human knowledge. There is, indeed, an important differentiation of function within the complex institution of the school. The chief function of teachers at the elementary and high school levels is to teach, of research scholars to continue their research, and of most college teachers to combine teaching and scholarship in roughly equal proportions. But it is of the utmost importance to remember that the school, as an embracing and many-sided institution, must promote both functions equally, and that everyone in this profession must himself perform both functions in appropriate ways. This is true not merely because both functions are important but because each will suffer if it is divorced from the other.

SCHOLARSHIP

The "scholarship" to which I am here referring may take many forms. It may take the form of minute pedantic fact-finding which adds to the sum of human knowledge by tiny accretions. It may consist of epoch-making discoveries, as has

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happened so often in modern science, or of radical interpretations of older wisdom, as happens when a Plato, a Descartes or a Kant revolutionizes previous ways of thinking. It may also take the much humbler form of a quiet and unpretentious study of other men's ideas—a study issuing not in learned articles and books but in the thoughtful assimilation of and reflection upon these ideas and their application to concrete situations. The *real* teacher, at however elementary a level, pursues this last type of scholarship continuously, and only by doing so can he hope to keep his teaching from becoming mechanical and sterile. He must nourish himself intellectually and spiritually if he is to nourish his students; he must in his own way persistently tap the wisdom of men wiser than he is, consider the relevance of this wisdom to his own needs and those of his students, and discover new and vital applications of these relevant insights to the specific problems with which he is intimately concerned—he must do all this persistently and joyously if he is to be of genuine value to his students.

At the other extreme, the most advanced and technical research scholar dare never forget his debt to society. All his inquiries, however esoteric, should be pursued with an eye to their direct or indirect, immediate or long range benefit to mankind. In this important sense he too, therefore, has a teaching function. His job is not to acquire new insights merely for his own enjoyment but for ultimate dissemination. Hence the major obligation of scientists to make their discoveries available to their fellow scientists as quickly as possible, and the obligation of science as a corporate discipline to popularize its findings so far as they can be popularized, to teach science at more elementary as well as at more advanced levels, and to apply scientific knowledge in technology and medicine with a scrupulous regard for human welfare.

The school as an institution is therefore in a healthy state in proportion as it conserves, criticizes and extends man's knowledge of reality and as it also helps people to benefit from this knowledge. Its cultural and spiritual resources to which I have referred consist partly of the wisdom of the past, partly of the light which is shed by critical re-assessment, and partly by brand new insights. And it can draw on these resources because it is uniquely equipped to recapture and transmit the wisdom of older cultures and periods, to submit it to critical scrutiny, and to develop methods and techniques favorable to the advance of knowledge.

There are indeed unpredictable and uncontrollable factors which must not be ignored—the factors of individual initiative, private conscience, talent and genius. No institution, not even the school, can produce genius or even talent. The best it can hope to do is to discover talent and foster its development, and to avoid ostracizing genius when it mysteriously makes its appearance. It can do much to encourage individual initiative and to provide for the enlightenment of conscience, but it is fortunately unable to control completely the thoughts, ideas and

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actions of men and women as free moral agents.

Nevertheless, its corporate task is systematically to promote an interest in and a respect for the past and to perfect ways of knowing and understanding the past; to promote critical reflection upon both past and present beliefs and practices; to promote, so far as an institution can do so, new discoveries about every aspect of man's total environment; and to promote the greatest possible participation in these processes by the members of the society which it exists to serve. No other institution, save only the church, has a comparable opportunity and obligation, and the church's task, as we shall see, differs from that of the school in important respects.

MAIN OBJECTIVES

The basic objectives of the academic disciplines can best be defined in terms of the foregoing analysis. They may, for convenience, be labelled linguistic, factual, evaluative and synoptic.

The school's first responsibility is linguistic in the widest sense. Knowledge cannot possibly be divorced from its expression in some language of inquiry and communication. We cannot think, or share our ideas with others, or learn from others, except by means of one or more of the many languages of discourse—our own mother tongue and other verbal languages, or the symbolic languages of mathematics, or the expressive languages of the fine arts, or the technical languages of specialized inquiry such as science. It is the job of the school to study all these languages, to perfect and extend them, and to help older and younger students to become more literate and articulate in as many of them as possible.

The second duty of the school is to record, extend and disseminate man's factual knowledge regarding himself and his environment. It must help scholars to preserve and re-interpret facts already known, to discover new facts, and to weld the new onto the old with whatever adjustments of established belief may be necessary. In its teaching function it should help students to learn the facts they need to know in order to respond in appropriate ways to nature, organic and inorganic, to their fellowmen, individually and collectively, to man's creations, utilitarian and artistic, and to the ultimate mystery of the universe. It should also teach them how to recognize a fact when they confront it, to acquire new factual knowledge when they need it, and, above all, to feel a passionate respect for fact in all its many forms. It should, in short, cultivate in them so far as possible a realistic attitude, a natural piety towards the world of fact.

The third basic concern of the school has to do with all the values which enrich human life and give it meaning—the intrinsic values, aesthetic, moral and religious, which are their own reward, and the extrinsic or utilitarian values which are valuable to men because they are means to ultimate ends. In its scholarly function, the school should explore all these values and man's often contradictory appraisal of them. It should study the historical development of the fine arts and

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literature and of artistic and literary criticism, the record of man's diverse estimates of his own moral nature, the almost infinite variety of conventional and political objectives, and the multiplicity of man's religious beliefs regarding the supernatural. In its teaching function the school's task is to cultivate the student's innate capacity for aesthetic, moral and religious sensitivity, to open up new vistas in all these realms, and to help the student to learn how to make more informed and responsible judgments in each of them.

In this region of values the relativity of human insight is particularly acute. Authoritarians past and present insist that values are not only absolute and unchanging but that they can be judged with finality; skeptics deny the very existence of objective values and reduce all value judgments to private preference and social convention. The sober judgment of reasonable men repudiates both of these extreme positions and recognizes the fact that here, as in judgments regarding facts, men are finite and fallible, but that some men are more sensitive, more perceptive and therefore wiser than others. All evaluations are indeed subject to criticism and revision; opinions regarding what is beautiful or right or holy are indeed controversial. But only the nihilistic skeptic will deny the possibility of more or less expert judgment in these realms. The school has no more important function than to promote the scholarly study of these problems which are so crucial to human happiness, and to help students to become more informed, discriminating and objective in their aesthetic enjoyment, their sense of moral and social responsibility, and their religious beliefs.

The final task of the school is to combat the innumerable provincialisms which bedevil us, by extending horizons and cultivating tolerance and humility. We cannot hope to escape provincialism entirely; the most enlightened of men is bound to take on the color of his time and nation, his class and professional or vocational associations, his religious or secular background. It is these partial and conflicting perspectives which keep men from understanding each other's point of view, which block sympathy and cooperation, and which stir up jealousies, hatreds and finally wars. The school can do more than any other institution to attack these provincialisms systematically and radically.

Government, national and international, can of course devise and administer the social machinery for cooperation, but it will do so only if those who are in positions of governmental responsibility have the requisite incentive and knowledge, and these political and legal devices will be effective only if leaders and citizens alike have been educated into a less provincial attitude. Similarly, the church can rise above parochialism and religious intolerance only if its clergy and laity acquire a greater sense of objectivity through education. The culminating duty of the school is therefore to promote a larger vision, a more embracing view, both at the level of scholarly research and at the various levels of instruction.

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Here, then, is the ideal objective of liberal education—to make all men, according to their ability, more literate and articulate, more factually informed and fact-minded, more sensitive to extrinsic and intrinsic values, and better able to interpret reality in sane perspective. Each of the specific academic disciplines—language study and mathematics, the natural and social sciences, the arts and letters, history, philosophy and the study of religion, can contribute to each of these four objectives, though each has its distinctive subject matter and methods, its peculiar powers and limitations. They are in no sense rivals. They are or should be allies in the common cause of truth in all the realms of fact and value.

In this perspective the relation of liberal education to vocational or professional training is clear. The purpose of the former is to cultivate whatever makes life more genuinely human and to prepare young people for a richer individual life in the context of their social responsibilities, in short, to promote the good life of the individual and his society by strengthening and purifying the human sources of goodness. The purpose of vocational training is more restricted but no less important. It is to help individuals to acquire those specialized skills by which alone they can realize more ultimate ends.

The quarrel in recent years between the exponents of liberal education and the vocationalists has been absurd, unnecessary and tragic. It has arisen chiefly because each party has short-sightedly denied man's need for what the other has to offer. Actually, all men urgently need all the liberal education they can assimilate, and the very life of our social democracy depends upon how much education of this type our future leaders and our voting citizens can acquire. But each of us must also be technically proficient in some field or other in order to practice the vocation which we select. Neglect of either ends or means is always disastrous.

I shall discuss in my next article the nature and function of the church in a society like ours, with special concern for what the church can do that the school cannot be expected to do.

CATALOGUE JUSTICE

• In the early days of Phoenix, Arizona—about the turn of the century—an old-timer was elected justice of the peace. As was usual, he knew no law. When cases were brought before him, he had a fine-looking binder inside of which he had fastened a Sears-Roebuck catalogue, and he would get out this volume with a great flourish, thumb over the pages, put his finger upon a given point and pronounce judgment.

He did so one day when he had a man up for trial. Thumbing over the pages, he put his finger on a point, and said, "You are fined $4.98." The man got up to expostulate.

"Sit down!" hoarsely whispered his lawyer, pulling at his coat-tail. "You're just plain lucky he turned to *Pants* instead of *Pianos*."

—*Rotarizonian (Phoenix, Arizona)*

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A pacifist explains the position of the C.O.

Can We Use Conscientious Objectors Wisely?

By Frederick B. Tolles

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APPROXIMATELY one out of every thousand men drafted during the war was a conscientious objector. In accordance with the Selective Training and Service Act, any man who "by reason of religious training and belief" was "conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form" was assigned to "work of national importance." Roughly 10,000 men were found by their draft boards to be sincere conscientious objectors and were assigned to Civilian Public Service camps. Some 5,000 more either refused to register, were unwilling to comply with the terms of the act, or were denied classification as a C.O., and were given prison sentences averaging about three years. Gradually these men are returning to normal channels of life, although Selective Service's fear of criticism from veterans' organizations has kept the discharge rate down to less than 40 per cent of the Army's, and no general amnesty for imprisoned C.O.'s similar to that declared after the first World War has been announced.

These 15,000 men took their unpopular war-time stand because of an uncompromising devotion to the ideal of peace. Now that "peace" is here (except in China, Korea, Indo-China, Java, Palestine, Iran and Detroit), they find that suddenly they have something in common again with the majority of their fellow citizens. But they are uncertain on what terms they will be accepted as co-workers for peace, and they are wondering where their most effective contribution to peace will lie in a world of Big Three power politics where the atomic bomb, the jet-propelled bomber and bacteriological warfare are the ultimate sanctions.

The widespread peace movement of the 1920's and 1930's obviously did not prevent a second world war, but it deeply affected the lives of thousands of young men and women of high-school and college age. In the first World War, most of the C.O.'s had come from the so-called "historic peace churches"—Mennonites, Brethren (Dunkers) and Friends (Quakers). The draft in the second World War, however, revealed that pacifism had made many converts within the larger churches and among those who claimed no religious affiliation. There were, in point of fact, more Methodist C.O.'s in Civilian Public Service than Quakers, and the numbers of Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic and Jewish C.O.'s were not insignificant.

Pacifism, then, is no longer the monopoly of a few queer sects, but has made significant inroads on the thinking of all the major church

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bodies. It is a notable fact, too, that the clergy in this war refrained in general from the role of recruiting-sergeants that they played in the first World War. No poll has been taken to determine the number of pacifist ministers in the United States, but a significant index is provided by the fact that the clergy at the Methodist Annual Conference in 1944 were divided about evenly on the question whether "God has a stake in this war." The clergy still constitute a force to be reckoned with in molding public opinion, and can be expected, especially now that the war is over, to continue their pacifist preaching.

Beyond the objection to bearing arms, what beliefs do the C.O.'s share in common? The question is impossible to answer categorically, since we are dealing with a group of highly independent thinkers. In general, however, it can be said that there are three main pacifist approaches: the *fundamentalist*, which is based upon a literal interpretation of certain texts in the Bible, including some of the more apocalyptic passages; the *philosophico-political*, which maintains that war is a crime against humanity or a tool by which the ruling classes exploit the workers; and the *liberal religious* approach, which can be summarized in the statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in 1932: "We believe that war is contrary to the spirit of Christ and incompatible with the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess."

Most of the men in all three groups believe in a deep personal commitment to a way of life from which the psychological seeds of war —hatred and prejudice and personal or national self-interest—are eliminated. It is interesting to note that Negro C.O.'s have often found C.P.S. camps to be freer from race prejudice than any other community in which they have lived.

Many American shared one or another of these pacifist beliefs in the years between the great wars. Only the most deeply convinced remained firm in their pacifist faith when the second World War came. This intransigent group, however, included representatives of every stratum of American society. There was a large group of farmers: most of the Mennonites and Brethren fell into this class. There was a small number of factory workers, belonging to small Marxist or Fundamentalist splinter groups. And there was a great number of men from ordinary middle-class backgrounds, many with college and professional training. Out of 1200 men in the Civilian Public Service camps administered by the American Friends Service Committee, almost 90 per cent had graduated from high school, 40 per cent were college graduates, and 20 per cent had graduate training. Army psychological tests given to men in C.P.S., revealed that *all* the men who took the tests were above the Army average in intelligence, and that 64 per cent of the men were in Army grade I, whereas only 7 per cent of the Army personnel were in this grade. The C.O.'s cannot therefore be dismissed as a collection of ignorant fanatics and crackpots any more than they can be lumped together as a subversive group of un-American "radicals."

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During the war years, the majority of the conscientious objectors have been segregated in abandoned C.C.C. camps, working at manual labor for government agencies such as the Soil Conservation Service, or else as attendants (the lowest grade of employees) in state mental institutions. They have given more than five million man-days of labor to their country without a cent of pay. Their maintenance in camp has been borne almost entirely by private religious agencies. Furthermore, although nearly half of the men are married, and many have children, the government has refused to provide any allotments for their dependents. And although much of the work (for example, parachute fire-fighting or serving as human guinea pigs for medical experimentation) has been hazardous to life and limb, the men have not been eligible for government accident compensation. In the face of the government's failure to assume any of these obligations towards men whom it has drafted, the religious agencies have attempted to meet the men's financial needs; nevertheless, at the end of three or four years of unrewarded labor, many find themselves impoverished and their families virtually pauperized.

This treatment, although admittedly more liberal than the Nazi pattern of execution or concentration camp, has been economically wasteful in terms of the use of manpower in a time of crisis. It is not denied that important contributions to the national welfare have been made in the fields of soil and forest conservation, improvement in the care of the mentally ill, and the advancement of medical knowledge. But (to cite a few examples) it does not make sense when human needs abroad are desperate and available manpower is short, to put an experienced foreign relief worker with a Ph.D. and a command of five languages to work weeding seedbeds in a government tree nursery. Not does it make sense at a time of social dislocation on the home front to relegate trained, experienced and concerned social workers, teachers, scientists and engineers to comparatively insignificant work clearing trails or digging waterholes, to say nothing of the folly of taking farmers away from the farm in the midst of a critical food shortage and setting them to tidying up national parks and beautifying highways. The British and Canadians have been more sensible: they allowed C. O.'s to continue to work at socially significant and useful occupations.

FUTURE SERVICES

What are the attitudes of these men, now that they are slowly being released into normal and useful life again? And what can be expected from them in the way of constructive social and individual action? Some will be cynical and disillusioned, having lost faith in their government and in a pacifist leadership which, they feel, got them into a compromising relationship with a conscription system. Others will have managed to profit from the experience, having acquired in spite of or perhaps because of its limitations, a realism and a maturity that may produce a more seasoned pacifist leadership.

In many the forces of dammed-

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up idealism, deprived of adequate expression during the war, will seek channels of socially significant service in the post-war world. A considerable number of those who have been discharged are going immediately into foreign relief work from which they have hitherto been excluded by specific congressional action directed against drafted C. O.'s. Others will go into the labor movement, the co-operative movement, teaching, social and religious work, the fields of race relations and rural community life. Men who as attendants in mental hospitals have seen the appalling conditions in some of our state institutions will participate actively in the mental hygiene movement, working towards an educated and awakened public opinion in this neglected area. C.O.'s who have been in prison for conscience sake have become aware of the evil effects of incarceration upon the prisoner; they will undoubtedly bring new life to the movement for prison reform. In all these areas the C.O.'s as men of sensitive social conscience can be counted upon to make an important contribution towards nurturing the seeds of a peaceful society.

It is to be hoped that their efforts will not be thwarted by prejudice and unfair discrimination. During the war the American Civil Liberties Union found the country's record to be better in this regard than in 1917-18, and on the whole public opinion has been surprisingly tolerant. Nevertheless, there have been clear evidences of discrimination in official policies and a number of minor local incidents reflecting popular prejudice. These incidents may be expected to increase in number as the C.O. attempts to find his place in society again in competition with the returning service man. The United States Supreme Court has already cleared the way for legal discrimination against C.O.'s by upholding an Illinois decision that the views of a C.O. make him ineligible to practice law in that state. The four dissenting justices pointed out that, carried to its logical extreme, this judgment would mean that no C.O. would be eligible for any government job or state-licensed profession in Illinois or any other state with a similar law. The experience of earlier post-war periods in American history leads one to fear that the C.O. along with other unpopular minorities—the Negro, the Jew, the Japanese-American, perhaps the Roman Catholic and the Socialist or Communist—may suffer serious infringements of his civil liberties and curtailment of his normal opportunities in the years just ahead.

The C.O.'s themselves, if they are to avoid inviting criticism and prejudice, will have to be circumspect. By principle and conviction they are, almost to a man, internationalists. If they are wise, they will in the future shun any taint of association or sympathy with isolationist groups, no matter how vehemently the latter may put themselves forward as anti-war crusaders. Likewise they will resist the temptation to waste their efforts in seeking scapegoats whether in the persons of the munitions makers in the manner of the Nye investigation or in the persons of generals, admirals

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and statesmen *à la* Pearl Harbor investigation. They will instead devote all the resources of intelligence and goodwill they can command to a single-minded effort to convince Americans and all men that war is *wrong* and must be eliminated.

Along with the signs, already mentioned, of developing prejudice against pacifists and C.O.'s, there are a few more encouraging signs pointing towards a growing understanding and appreciation of the pacifist point of view. The pendulum is already beginning to swing away from war-time acceptance of militarist ways of thinking. The strong undercurrent of public sentiment against peace-time military conscription is one evidence of this reaction. Another sign of the times could be read in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* on December 30, 1945, in which Raymond B. Fosdick commented on the feeling of guilt that oppresses many Americans. "The names of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," he wrote, "lie heavily upon the consciences of most of us—even when our rationalizations give us temporary relief. . . . We did more than burn to death thousands of civilians—men, women and children who had no advance warning of their fate. By justifying the act on the grounds that it shortened the war, we legitimized the use of atomic energy as a weapon to shorten any war. . . . More than that, we gave our moral sanction to any weapon in the future that will win a war. . . . Our deep indignation at the Germans over their bombing of Coventry and our early protestations about 'military objectives' are conveniently forgotten."

The moral implications of obliteration bombing, whether by TNT or atomic energy, were forcefully and persistently pointed out during the war in public statements by prominent pacifist clergymen and religious leaders, but the newspapers, including the *New York Times,* were united in condemning them for unpatriotic and subversive utterances. Now that the realization of the moral degeneration that accompanied our efforts in the war is dawning, the pacifist is not disposed merely to say "I told you so." He rejoices rather at the increasing recognition that the only force more powerful than atomic energy is constructive and constant goodwill, that our scientific knowledge and our social intelligence will save us only if they are harnessed to the irresistible power of love, that in the last resort, we shall not abolish war between nations until we have eliminated the seeds of war from ourselves, and have come to what George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, called "the life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars." If the war-time testimony and the post-war activities of American conscientious objectors can but call the attention of Americans to this momentous and inescapable truth, they will have deserved well of their fellow-citizens.

• When an Army public relations officer telephoned a railway office to inquire if an incoming train was normally on time, he was told: "Normally, yes, but it hasn't been for four years."

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Women's professional status presents a complex problem

What Chance for Women?

By Ellen D. Ellis

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AS the extraordinary conditions of the six war years give place to what it is to be hoped may be the more normal conditions of reconversion and peace, the problem of the status of women in the business and professional world will once again raise its head. This problem has lain relatively dormant during the recent period of extreme labor stringency. It is sure to be revived, however, by the return of the veterans, probably to present itself in accentuated degree, inasmuch as under war conditions women have enjoyed a more privileged economic position and greater economic independence than ever before.

The problem of woman's place in the business and professional world is commonly presented as the question whether the demand of women for "equality of opportunity" with men, and for "equal pay for equal work" can be justified. The assumption underlying this formulation of the problem would appear to be that "equality of opportunity" and "equality of pay for equal work" have one and the same meaning, and that therefore only one set of arguments needs to be built up in justification of what is assumed to be the single principle involved.

It is the contention of this article that such is not the case, that what is in reality the very complex problem of women's professional and economic status in relation to that of men can be adequately analyzed only if the two aspects of equality are kept as distinct as possible from each other. The considerations that should weigh in meeting the demand of women for equality of opportunity are not the same considerations as those to be applied to her demand for equality of recompense.

The problem of equality of opportunity may be resolved into the twofold question whether educational opportunities should be equal for the two sexes, and whether jobs and careers in the business and professional world should be equally open to men and women. At the core of each of these questions lies the principle of the ability of the individuals concerned to profit from the opportunities offered or to fill the available jobs. And, as in all such situations, the only correct procedure is to study meticulously the qualifications of the individual candidate for the individual job or award. These qualifications will vary, obviously, from individual to individual, whether man or woman. Some of them will be capable of objective determination and measurement; others will forever remain among the subjective and the imponderable.

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In respect of equal educational opportunity, it no longer admits of argument that on the school and college levels, girls and women should be offered education and training equal to, and, where desired, identical with what is provided for boys and men. Women have also, for the most part, won their right to be admitted to graduate and professional schools along with men. The tardy opening to women of the doors of the Harvard Medical School marked the fall of almost if not quite the last barrier in this respect. Women are not as yet admitted to the Law School of Harvard University.

Some of the more recent liberalizing along these lines may have been in the interest of self-preservation under the disrupting influence of the war. The earlier opening of the doors of graduate and professional schools to women may be assigned to other reasons, in part general, and in part particular to the individual case. The condition precedent in every case, however, has lain, it may be assumed, in the recognition on the part of the institution in question that women are people, and that they share with men, though in varying degrees, as is also true of men, the rational and mental qualities characteristic of the human being as such. As a corollary of this basic assumption, institutions of learning have further assumed that women can take, and profit from, the training offered, and that, further, a woman can make a contribution to society commensurate with what she has received.

The high percentage of women leaders of their classes in the professional schools of this and other countries, and their success in the professions, furnish ample justification for the opening of the professional schools to them. Not all women will wish to avail themselves of such specialized training; many who do will, as in the case of men, not follow the chosen profession. Society, however, will be the richer, and not the poorer, for all who, whether men or women, submit themselves to three or four years of the rigorous intellectual discipline that work in a professional school implies.

Equality of educational opportunity in this sense there should, then, be, without possibility of doubt. Difficulty, and perhaps some doubt, are injected into the problem when the question arises as to whether special help, financial or other, shall be offered to women desiring to undergo training for a job or profession open also to men. Should women be granted such aid on a purely objective competitive basis with men; or should the fact that they are women in some way enter also into the picture? Should the likelihood of their persisting in a chosen job or profession weigh in the decision?

Since factors other than sheer ability are in most cases, whether of men or women, taken into consideration in the making of such assignments, the attributing of some weight to the factor of probable persistence in the job or profession would seem legitimate. Consideration of the probable attitude of a woman toward her job or profession, and her probable persistence or nonpersistence in it should, however, be weighed over against all her other qualifications, and against important

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differences in qualifications existing among male applicants. And it should be remembered that lucrative opportunities in the business world frequently lure members of the male sex away from professions chosen in earlier youth. It should also be borne in mind that after every bit of positive objective evidence has been taken into consideration, the decision whether or not to settle upon a given candidate must always, in the case of both men and women alike, rest on innumerable imponderables and intangibles, among which the likelihood of stability of purpose is perhaps more open to miscalculation and mistaken judgment than any other.

The duty is therefore incumbent upon all those entrusted with the award of graduate scholarships and fellowships to give as full and impartial attention as possible to *all* the factors in the case. The responsibility in the situation, however, does not stop here. There exists an equal duty on the part of the successful applicant, whether man or woman, to make an adequate return to society for the benefit received. It may legitimately be argued that, so long as funds for special help are limited, and until the state offers the best professional training gratis to all who desire it, the return that in general will justify the benefit received through scholarship or fellowship aid will be the contribution to society afforded by the actual pursuit of the profession or art for which the training was provided. Only thus can the professions under existing conditions be adequately recruited.

Women considering entrance upon professional careers should seriously ponder these things. There is little question that because of the very difficulty of weighing the uncertainties involved, the law of averages is too frequently invoked in the making of awards for special or professional study, rather than the specific circumstances of the given case. What other women have done in what appears a similar situation, becomes, therefore, of supreme importance to every woman applying for such an award. To point out this fact is only to emphasize the profound social responsibility resting on all women who can prepare for the business or professional world only with outside assistance.

In 1914-1915 when the Bulgarian government decided to finance the training in the United States of a limited number of its young women for the profession of nursing, each trainee was obliged to agree to practice the profession for a certain period of years, or to return to the Bulgarian government the cost of her training. Perhaps some such condition could be attached to all scholarship and fellowship aid on the graduate level beyond that of work for the master's degree. In the actual employment of women, whether in professional or other jobs, the attempt should be made to apply the same criteria as those advocated for the making of educational awards. Perhaps this is a new avenue to be explored by employment and personnel officers.

I trust it is apparent that I am urging in reality a deeper and more far reaching equality of opportunity for men and women in the business and professional world than is usu-

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ally demanded. I am urging that the qualifications of each individual, whether man or woman, be judged as strictly on their own merits as is humanly possible. If as a result of such careful and impartial sifting of individuals it should appear that more women than men were rejected, certainly women could not, or at least should not, complain that they were discriminated against.

The difficulty has perhaps been that generalizations about women have been made on too little evidence, and that women who would have taken their jobs and their responsibilities quite seriously have too often been rejected in favor of men who have taken them all too lightly. What is demanded is that women, like men, should be dealt with in these as in other respects, as individual human beings, rather than as a group which for the specific purposes in view may have little meaning.

EQUAL PAY

If the problem of equality of opportunity can be solved along some such lines as those indicated, that of equal pay for equal work, specifically as between men and women, will present few difficulties.

The argument that men are responsible for the support of the family and must therefore receive a higher wage than women if the birth rate, especially among the better educated, is to be maintained, is well known and too well worn. This argument cannot in itself be accepted as a valid justification for a differential between the wages of men and women for the same performance. Society does not record, except on income tax returns, the dependents whom countless of its women silently and unobtrusively support. The fact, furthermore, is commonly overlooked that if the furnishing of the means necessary to have and support families is to be accepted as a valid argument for higher salaries for men, then it must logically follow that the salaries of men with independent means should be proportionately cut down.

In an age that is being as rapidly mechanized and as rapidly socialized as the present, other means must be found for the preservation of the population than the boosting of men's wages and salaries to a point higher than those of women. There is little doubt that a more enlightened point of view on the part of the public and government, especially in the United States, with regard to the spreading of information concerning birth control would tend to redress the balance between the birth rate in the less and that in the more educated groups. There is also little doubt that with less stress on a narrow nationalism, as we hope, in the world of the future, one of the most common arguments for large populations, and one of the most horrible, will automatically disappear. The emphasis placed on population increase in Fascist Italy and that placed on a high birth rate in National Socialist Germany are only extreme examples of the relationship commonly existing in men's minds between numerically strong populations and national prestige. These two regimes, moreover, furnish only extreme examples of the fact that the natural expression of such prestige has been found in

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strong military establishments made up of young men trained to hold it their highest destiny to be mowed down in war.

If population be regarded on a world wide rather than on a national scale, it can be plausibly argued that, despite the terrible ravages of war, the earth is under present conditions populated by a sufficient number of human beings. The problem is one of distribution rather than of numbers, in this case of distribution both geographic and economic. And the task is therefore primarily one of education, but of education in terms of world rather than of national welfare.

EASING FAMILY BURDEN

With the universal increase in cooperative and socialized methods of fulfilling the purposes of society, further means of easing "the economic and social burdens of the family with children," to quote a recent *Forum* article,—as well, it may be added, of freeing women for activities outside the home—will without question be devised. These will be both private and public, and they can be devised without destruction of family life.

Pre-natal and post-natal care for women, with time out with pay for the period preceding and after childbirth, state subsidies for children, an extension of free educational facilities on the college and professional level, socialized medicine, will make possible the rearing of larger families on smaller incomes if necessary. The further development of such institutions as the nursery school and the cooperative kitchen, in addition to the myriads of other services once performed in the family which are now offered by the state and by private organizations, a more tolerant attitude toward part-time positions, will have profound influence on the economic pursuits of women. The inevitable development of technological labor-saving methods, especially through the possible use of atomic energy, are calculated to change the picture entirely within the predictable future. Here as elsewhere in an atomic age we must show that we are capable of revolutionary thinking.

As therefore it becomes increasingly possible and easy for women to step out from the traditional confinement of the home into the business and professional world, it is to be expected that in relatively fewer instances will their attitude toward job or career be less serious than that of men. The relative number of women who, in large part by force of circumstances, have regarded their activities outside the home as incidental and fortuitous, and who have tended to be made the basis of the judgment of all women, will be progressively diminished. Thus will disappear the last vestige of what has been in reality a flimsy excuse for the denial of equality of opportunity for every individual woman. With the economic and professional assurance that this will bring to women it will be increasingly difficult to deny them equal pay for equal work.

• A 79-year-old lawyer who died last month in Rockford, Illinois, requested that his tombstone bear the following inscription: "The defense rests."

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The birth rate of all religious groups is falling

Religion and the Birth Rate

By Paul H. Landis

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ASK almost any man on the street and he will tell you that the Catholic birth rate is higher than the Protestant. He bases his opinion either on observation of the reproductive behavior of his neighbors, or on the assumption that taboos of the Catholic group against birth control by artificial means naturally leads to a higher birth rate.

Only recently have we had an authoritative opinion on this through studies by the Milbank Memorial Fund,[1] based on data for 6,551 native-white married couples in Indianapolis who had passed the childbearing period. These data show that each 100 Catholic wives averaged 274 births for their fertile lifetime, the Protestant 219, mixed Catholic-Protestant marriages only 206.

Marked differences were also found in the proportion of marriages of completed fertility that were childless. Of the Catholics 14.8 per cent were childless, of the Protestant, 18.8 per cent, of Protestant-Catholic mixed marriages, 25.6 per cent.

Where do the Jews fit into this picture? Another study by the Milbank Memorial Fund[2] of 41,498 native-white couples in the city of Indianapolis compares the fertility of wives in the three religious groups, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. In this case, the fertile period for many of the wives was not complete, but in all cases the wives of the different religious groups were standardized for age and may therefore be compared. The average number of children born to 100 wives of all religious groups in this sample was 149. In cases where both members of the family were Protestant, the number of children born per 100 wives was 147, where both were Catholic, 173, where the marriage was mixed Catholic-Protestant, 133, and where both were Jewish, 110. Clearly the Catholic group is most fertile, the Protestant group intermediate, and the Jewish group least fertile of the three major religious groups in our society. The mixed marriages produce fewer children than either Catholic or Protestant.

Do differences in fertility disappear when one takes into account economic or educational background, place of birth, occupation and other such factors which are known to affect the birth rate, independent of religion?

[1] Clyde V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 72-105, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, January, 1944.

[2] *Op. Cit.*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 221-280, July, 1943.

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The economic measure employed in the Milbank Memorial Fund studies was house rental paid. Very little difference in the birth rates of Protestants and Catholics was found among the groups paying under $15 per month rental. Differences increased as the rental value of the property increased, the most marked differences having been registered in the upper-brackets, that is, where rental was more than $45 per month. In other words, if one isolates the lowest income group of Protestants and Catholics, the former failing to practice birth control to any great extent, there are practically no differences in birth rate. In the more favored economic classes, the Protestant birth rate drops very rapidly. The Catholic birth rates also drops below that of Catholics with a low income but drops less than the Protestant rate.

In relating fertility to education, it was found that there is comparatively little difference in the birth rates of Protestants and Catholics where the couple has had only grammar school education. The Protestants' birth rate was slightly lower, but not appreciably. Where both members of the family had a high school education, the Protestant birth rate was considerably lower than the Catholic. Where both members of the family had some college education, the Protestant birth rate was much lower than the Catholic. It is significant that among both Protestants and Catholics, the more education the couple had the lower is the birth rate, but that at all educational levels the Protestant birth rate falls below the Catholic rate.

Southern rural upbringing is also known to affect the birth rate of couples. Catholics of completed fertility in Indianapolis born in the north produced 272 children per 100,. whereas northern-born Protestants produced only 209 children per 100. Southern-born Protestants produced 316 children, which is considerably more than the northern-born Catholics.

Comparisons of Catholic and Protestant birth rates by occupations show that whereas the more successful professional and business groups have small families among both religious groups, the Protestant family of the more favored occupational classes such as the professions and business, is on the average smaller than the Catholic family of comparable occupational classes. The unskilled laborers have larger families among both religious groups, but the Protestant families are smaller than Catholic families.

It is estimated on the basis of the above findings that Catholic couples are 18 per cent more fertile than Protestant couples; that Protestant-Catholic marriages are 10 per cent less fertile than Protestant unions, and that Jewish marriages are 25 per cent less fertile than Protestant marriages.

Is the birth rate of any or all of these religious groups sufficient to replace population in the next generation?

That of the urban Catholic group is approximately sufficient to meet population replacement requirements. Urban Protestant birth rates are one-fifth to one-third below replacement requirements. Replacement rates of Jewish and of mixed

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marriages are far below replacement. Even among the Catholics, however, the more educated group and the group in the higher economic levels are failing to reproduce themselves at present birth rates. Catholics, however, come considerably nearer replacing themselves than Protestant and Jewish groups in these upper income and educational brackets. The more highly educated[1] and more economically successful Protestant couples in large cities are producing only a little more than half as many children as are required to replace themselves.

Back of this deficit in population replacement is the large number of no-children, one or two-child families. Among all urban-metropolitan religious groups 18.8 per cent of the wives are childless; almost half, 46.8 per cent, have only one or two children: only about 15 per cent have three children, and 20 per cent four or more. We have already pointed out that Protestants have a higher proportion of childless marriages than Catholics. It should also be mentioned that Catholics have many more families with four or more children than do Protestants. The Indianapolis survey of couples of completed fertility showed that 29 per cent of Catholic marriages produced four or more children, but only 19 per cent of Protestant and mixed Protestant-Catholic marriages as many. Sixty-seven per cent of Protestant marriages produced none to two children as compared to 52 per cent of Catholic marriages.

A study of the practice of contraception among religious groups in 30 cities showed that 23 per cent of Catholic wives did not practice contraception, only 17 per cent of Protestants did not and 10 per cent of Jews. Another 34 per cent of Catholics, 14 per cent of Protestants and 6 per cent of Jews practiced "simpler" methods only. This left 43 per cent of Catholics only practicing what might be considered effective contraception in contrast to 69 per cent of Protestants and 84 per cent of Jews.

These data presented above on the birth rate of religious groups are representative of reproductive behavior of religious groups in metropolitan America only and are therefore not typical of the birth rate of the nation. While no detailed studies are available indicating the comparative birth rates of rural population by religious heritage, various studies have compared the ability of urban and rural populations in the United States to replace themselves. In 1940, urban areas (places of 2500 or more people) were 26 per cent below replacement, according to United States Census data. Rural farm communities were 44 per cent above replacement, but the nation as a whole was 4 per cent below replacement.

FALLING BIRTH RATES

It is significant that the birth rates of all religious groups have fallen along with those of the general population. Stauffer's study[2] of

[1]The effect of education on the birth rate was discussed by the writer in "A Nation of Eighth Grade Sires," *Forum*, CIV:1-6, September, 1945.

[2]Samuel A. Stauffer, "Trends in Fertility of Catholics and Non-Catholics," American Journal of Sociology, 41:143-166, September, 1935.

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the trend of the Catholic and non-Catholic birth rates in Wisconsin shows that the Catholic fertility rate has been declining even faster than the non-Catholic during recent years. It seems, therefore, that there is likely to be less difference between the Catholic and Protestant birth rates in the future than at the present time.

The war years raised the national birth rate substantially, to above 20 per thousand, the level of about 1926 and 1927. But this boom period has already passed. There may be another rise now that men are returning. Then the long-time downward trend of the birth rate, which brought it from 37 per thousand in 1875 to a low point of 16.6 in 1933, will no doubt again persist.

What are the implications of these trends, and in what respect do they relate to the religious philosophies of the population? These are questions of vital importance to the future of the nation if we try to envision the population problem of the post-war decades.

It is probable that a religion which emphasizes duty and filial loyalty is a profound psychological factor in the birth rate of a population, since these attitudes reflect themselves in marriage and in the conduct of the married couple. This philosophy, which was so prominent in pioneer religion, and in fact in all traditional religion undoubtedly was as important to the high birth rate of the previous days as was the lack of so-called birth control information itself. To the extent that religion, as it is modified by urban industrial living, replaces this basic religious philosophy, to that extent is the fertility of the population likely to decline.

It is not the religious element alone that is lacking in the urban family group. The economic pressure of the large cities is no doubt heavier on the couple that does marry than in rural communities. The sense of competition between children and elements in the level of living which the couple desire are more keenly felt in the metropolis, where numerous pressures are brought upon the average family to live on as luxurious a level as is possible.

EFFECT OF CITIES

The very fact of submergence of the natural environment to a mechanical environment in the city no doubt has profound psychological effect upon the human being. There is little in the urban environment to suggest natural life processes—mating, birth, growth, age and death—the cycle of all life. Moreover, the city has encouraged satisfaction of sensous appetites without the responsibilities of childbearing, and numerous institutions such as restaurants, apartments and hotels make possible a fairly normal kind of non-domestic living for the person who fails to establish a home. All of these factors, some of which have a definite bearing on religious philosophy, some of which even help to make religious philosophy, have a part in the low birth rate of the metropolitan community, so that one cannot say whether religion is cause or effect. It is no doubt both.

In the absence of religion to command the people to multiply and replenish the earth, from where is this demand to come, or is the nation

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ready to face the prospect of population stability, or even of a population decline a generation or two ahead.

Prior to the war, attempts to raise the birth rate were in vogue in most European nations which are either experiencing population decline, or are on the verge of it. In these areas, state policy was substituted for the authoritative voice of religion. Prohibitions and penalties for circulating birth control information and for abortion were in vogue. Special tax assessments on bachelors and spinsters, rewards and honors to large families, marriage loans to youth, public housing provisions and tax considerations for families with children, extra wages for fathers with dependent children and other such measures were the usual common state incentives. These ventures in population policies had a questionable success. Although they no doubt improved living conditions for families with children they did not in any case bring about a marked upturn in the birth rate.

Malthus, the English clergyman, who first called the Western World's attention in a dramatic way to problems of population, stated the view that only by something akin to a great religious awakening could the birth rate of a people be raised. Applied to our time this means simply that powerful motives have to surge within the individual to make him willing to devote himself to rearing a large family in preference to pouring his substance into a more luxurious level of living.

To sensuous-minded individuals, offered so many satisfactions from urban living, the supposed sacrifices of childbearing often seem much more important than they are. Fears of childbirth, of losing a figure, of having to drop out of the social set, of having mobility restricted, many such factors weigh heavily in the thinking of the young couple. Being removed from the nature environment, they fail to realize what people throughout all the ages have realized, that the deepest satisfactions of life are obtainable only through the kind of sacrifice and the kind of duty that family life with children impose upon the individual. This consciousness in itself is essentially religious; without it there is little religion, and less of family life.

But a new sense of duty is not enough; children are not in the scheme of social values of American life. We reserve pity for those with large families, and accuse the prolific of ignorance and lack of self control.

We are a century behind in social thinking on problems of social responsibility to the family with children. Some other industrial nations as early as 1835 initiated the family wage in industry, taking into account a man's family obligations when writing the pay check. We are only beginning to think of subsidized food consumption, food stamp plans, free school lunches, public subsidy for housing, health insurance and other such measures to remove some of the universal anxieties which the couple with children carries unassisted by social policy. Little wonder that the uneducated poor and isolated rural dwellers are the only ones foolhardy enough to assume the burden of large families.

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The dark continent begins to assume an important role

Africa at the Peace Table

By Martin Ebon

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AFRICA, the great economic-political frontier of our time, has emerged as a future area of big power rivalry. Ever since the French Committee of National Liberation made its headquarters in Algiers, during the war, the importance of Africa on the international scene has become more marked. At the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, last fall, the future of Italy's African possessions was discussed but not settled. When, on January 17, 1946, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin advised the United Nations General Assembly that his government was ready to place the mandated territories of Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland under a United Nations trusteeship, it became clear that detailed discussion of Africa's future was under way.

During the war, Africa played an important role as a transit continent. Arms, goods and personnel were moved from the Western Hemisphere to the Near East, by way of Dakar, North Central Africa and Egypt to points of strategic importance on the crossroads of Europe, Africa and Asia. The Persian Gulf Command represented the main interest of the United States in the Near East, while, throughout the Northern parts of Africa, American air fields and diplomatic outposts symbolized United States participation in the role which Africa had come to play.

The issue of United Nations trusteeship over certain African territories now shifts the international spotlight farther to the South on the African continent.

When Allied arms ousted the Germans and collaborationists from the African continent, it was the Northern coast territory on the Mediterranean that absorbed the attention of the world. Of course, South Africa's part in the war effort of the British Commonwealth brought troops of the Union of South Africa to the North African desert and the rugged hills of Italy. But, so far as the international political scene was concerned, Central and South Africa remained in the shadow, while the hopes and plans of Free Frenchmen in Algiers stood in the limelight long and clearly. It was always because of Europe that Africa entered the news. The disputes, now part of almost-forgotten history, between General Charles de Gaulle and General Henri-Honore Giraud were European disputes that had been transferred to an African locale.

Even problems affecting Egypt, for instance, had their deeper origins in European disputes. They were not and are hardly now African

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matters. Basically, the forces that influence events in the Levant, in Iran or elsewhere in the Near East are the same that are now coming into play with regard to the continent of Africa. But in the Near East, the proximity of Europe and its dynamic currents and counter-currents are too immediate to permit analysis of apparently local problems without reference to issues affecting, let us say, the Balkans.

Looking back over the past few years, it is easy to see how even such dramatic African events as the liberation of Ethiopia and the return of Emperor Haile Selassie to the throne were, at the time, little more than events on the periphery of world history. The Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, was held on the shore of the Mediterranean, in the shadow of what was then Nazi-dominated Europe. President Roosevelt paid a visit to the people and the government of the West African Republic of Liberia on his return voyage from Casablanca; but there, too, the peripherical character of events which linked Europe with Africa was clear: the visit was brief and without far-reaching international results.

Of interest to colonial peoples everywhere, however, was the Conference of Governors General of French African territories, which took place at Brazzaville, in French Equatorial Africa, during the month of February, 1944. It was there that the F.C.N.L., later to become the Provisional French Government, pledged itself to work towards larger native participation in local administrations. There, the fields of activities of Africans and non-Africans in the various French African possessions were examined, the questions of agricultural development and technical education discussed.

AFRICA UNDER DISCUSSION

But when Allied troops landed on the shores of Normandie and the final contest of arms began, Africa was forgotten by the world. Now, however, that the future status of colonies ruled by Germany before World War I and by Italy before World War II has entered the realm of international discussions, it is the fate of Africa as such that begins to matter.

Africa cannot be ignored at the Peace Conference, because the whole issue of colonial areas on the continent will eventually have to be explored by the United Nations Organization. The suggestion of the Soviet Union that it take on the administration of certain Italian colonial areas and the British announcement regarding the former German possessions have been received with some disquiet among other powers. France suggested that trusteeship for her parts of Togoland and the Cameroons would be a backward step in the development of these areas. The Union of South Africa stated that it could not state its position regarding the mandated territory of Southwest Africa before consulting the people of this area. The statement noted that Southwest Africa borders directly on the Union of South Africa itself and was therefore unique. Belgium, on the other hand, opened the way toward a United Nations trusteeship of the Ruanda-Urundi territories.

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Far-seeing officials of nations controlling African territories must be aware of the fact that discussion of mandated territories is very likely to reveal clearly the contradictions in the attitude of various nations toward the trusteeship idea. Obviously, in suggesting U.N.O. trusteeship over the mandated territories it rules in Africa, the British government assumed as a matter of course that it would be the power to whom the administrative job would fall. Mr. Bevin said, in fact, that his government "was ready to accept obligations which will rest upon us as an administering authority under this new system." The question could then be asked whether a change of systems or a change of labels was envisaged.

While thus, at least by strong implication, advocating single trusteeship over the former German territories, the British government must look forward to an extremely complex issue in the case of former Italian territories. If the same formula —trusteeship by a single power—is to be applied in the case of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, it will be hard to avoid turning the administrative functions over to Italy. Rivalry between the big powers will prevent any one of them from being trusted with the task of administering these territories.

Indeed, the general tendency appears to be pointing in the direction of placing former colonial enemy areas under the control of a single power, rather than placing them under the joint control of a body appointed by the United Nations Organization. Certainly the United States is anxious to find a formula whereby this country can administer former Japanese colonial possessions in the Pacific Ocean within the trusteeship framework.

Single power trusteeship is not in itself, I believe, open to strong criticism. But the mandate system, established under the Covenant of the League of Nations, has given sufficient evidence to dispel the belief that administration by one power under a sort of power of attorney from an international body really represents rule by that body, no matter how indirect. Just as Togoland, Tanganyika and the Cameroons, remaining under British administration, will have upon them the stamp of British rule in a very decisive way, so will the future of the Italian colonies be shaped by whichever nation is the immediate administrator.

Broadly speaking, legal designations—such as trusteeship, mandate or colony—mean little when the administrative power is that of one nation, no matter whether it is indirectly responsible to a committee of the United Nations Organization or not. We have seen in occupied enemy countries that the regions occupied by a single power bear the stamp of the dominating political formula and machinery of that power. That is the case in the various zones of Germany; it holds true for Japan as it holds true for the countries of eastern Europe.

There is, of course, one great difference between European and Asiatic countries currently under dispute. Africa is not just another Macedonia or Northern Epirus or Armenia, regions which do not offer unexplored resources. The systema-

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tic geological exploration of the African continent has only begun. This condition is likely to sharpen considerably the interest of the world powers in the future of Africa. Not just diamonds and gold, found largely in the Union of South Africa and the Belgian Congo, are at stake. Minerals and agricultural products have been exported from various African states in the past. Cereals and fruit are important products. But all resources that have already been located and exploited are likely to be a mere beginning.

The wild rubber gathered in the jungles of Central Africa may mean little in tomorrow's world markets, which will certainly have a surplus in rubber. But the riches beneath Africa soil, as yet largely untapped, will be chips on the tables of the coming Peace Conference.

VOCAL AFRICAN LEADERS

While, at this moment, Africa is moving onto the center of the international scene, the peoples of that continent are growing more vocal. The more world-minded among them are looking abroad. Russia's growing interest in the Near East and Africa has not gone unnoticed. The example of racial equality set by the Soviet Union within its own boundaries has attracted the interest of world-conscious African native leaders. These men and women form, at the moment, a very small minority, but they must be regarded as the potential leaders of independence movements such as have asserted themselves recently in Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere in South East Asia.

There is strong evidence that leaders among the imperial powers fear that extension of Soviet interests to the continent of Africa would foster latent movements aiming at self-government and ultimate independence. At the same time, non-imperialist interests advocate progressive educational and health measures as an immediate basis for eventual political maturity of the African population. Serious study and informed opinion on this subject can, in the United States, be found among prominent Negro Americans and in the Negro press. Here, the peoples of Africa have a large reservoir of good will, controlled by groups that are growing more and more conscious of their possible political influence.

Far-seeing colonial administrators and policy-makers of the powers most immediately concerned thus seem to be inevitably pressed in the direction of improving native welfare—if only to forestall the growth of outside influence. But private, rather than governmental institutions have in the past been foremost in vital and basic educational activities. Christian churches and missions have, throughout African history, consistently preceded governmental bodies in concerning themselves with the immediate welfare of native peoples. Governments stepped in, for the most part, only after Christian missions and schools had prepared the ground and explored future advancement. Among studies of African native problems are many excellent works by missionaries which indirectly serve to speed progressive governmental action.

Elementary schools exist today in

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most populated African areas. A smaller number of higher schools, usually serving a certain group of settlements, are also in existence. In some urban centers, or attached to larger missionary outposts, fully organized advanced schools have been established. Cooperation between missionaries and government officials appears to have been most fruitful in British colonies. The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies of the British government continued its activities during the war years, outlining reforms and deeper educational penetration. As wartime and post-war economic dislocations lessen, these plans are to be translated into local administrative measures.

In the Belgian Congo, missions do not enjoy governmental support to the same degree that can be noted in certain British colonies. Only Roman Catholic missions receive governmental subsidies in this Belgian possession. In the French possessions, the tie to France itself is emphasized in the educational system which has few community or linguistic links with the bulk of the native population. However, full application of the resolutions formulated at the Brazzaville Conference would eradicate some of the shortcomings inherent in this system. The fact that principals of schools in the Portuguese colonies have to be men of Portuguese nationality has created a bottleneck in the much-needed extension of this educational machinery.

Thus, while concern about the indirect influence of other powers gives impetus to progressive moves by the administering nations, progress has thus far been slow. We may expect African educational and administrative reform to be speeded up as this continent moves more and more into the foreground of world affairs.

• One morning, Andrew Carnegie interviewed two boys for a job. He placed a package in front of each, and told them to start unwrapping.

One boy carefully undid the string and placed it in a drawer. The other reached for a pair of scissors, snipped the string and tossed it into the wastebasket. Carnegie then asked the boys to wait outside.

Asked his secretary: "Shall I hire the boy who saved the string?" "No," said the steel magnate. "I want the other one. The days of string-saving are over."

• Guests at a New York dinner, mostly scientists, were engrossed in a discussion of the atomic bomb. One pessimist finally declared: "The atomic bomb is bound to lead us to a cosmic tragedy, and I am willing to bet that it will come within five years."

"I can't believe any such thing," said the scientist sitting beside him. "Furthermore, I'll give you odds of a hundred to one that nothing like you predict will happen."

"Pretty long odds," said the first, "Why do you offer them?'

"Because I can't lose," said the optimist. "If either of us collects on that bet, I'll be the one."

—*Grit*

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Our southern neighbor succeeds in educating its illiterates

Mexico's ABC Crusade

By Audrey A. Georgi

IF you teach 50 people to read and write in Mexico you will be given a medal by the President. You'd even have a chance in a raffle to win some land. If you teach 25 people, you may be given a year's pass to your favorite movie or may ride all the busses and street cars free for a year. If you teach 10 people, your name will be printed in gold letters in a book of honor. University students who teach 50 illiterates to read and write need not pay any more tuition to the University. And there are scores of minor awards such as books, food, clothing and merchandise.

Mexicans are past-masters at stimulating public interest in ventures by raffles and prizes. In part, the reason that they already are having success in their campaign to alphabetize illiterates is that stimuli are provided for all, alphabetizers and alphabetized alike.

This campaign against illiteracy was initiated only last March but already thousands have learned to read and write and are now making good use of their newly acquired talents. The enrollment in classes the country over at the time of this writing passes the two million mark.

Besides, several other Latin American countries, namely, Peru, Honduras, Guatemala and Colombia, are following Mexico's lead in this idea of educating their illiterates—a gross necessity in any democracy! They have all started similar ABC Crusades.

The final results of the campaign against illiteracy in Mexico could not be estimated accurately until February of 1946, when the one year of official government effort to educate ended. However one can note what has been accomplished to date, and contemplate what very well may result within the next six months.

The Secretariat of Education has a very modest goal—3,000,000 to be alphabetized within the year! According to the census of 1940 the illiteracy rate in Mexico was 47.88 per cent, one of the blackest records anywhere in the world. These 3,000,000 are not even one-third of the 10,000,000 illiterates!

Efforts have been made in the past to combat illiteracy in certain regions in Mexico. Five years ago, for instance, when Javier Rojo Gomez, now City Regent of Mexico, was Governor of the State of Hidalgo, he gave the backward Otomy Indians of that state an opportunity to learn to read and write, but the results were very meager. The present campaign has tried to profit from the unfortunate experiences of previous efforts. And the very fact that this present ABC Crusade is

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not a first trial venture lends it more merit and gives it great possibilities of success.

The law of August 30, 1944, originally provided that every Mexican from 18 to 60 who knew how to read and write would be required to teach one illiterate. However, this turned out to be impractical, for not everyone who knew how to read and write could teach some one else. An adaptation was made, then, so that those individuals who wished might delegate their duty to a regular school teacher who would be financially re-imbursed by them.

Collective centers were established, some of which were sustained by groups of individuals, others by industries, banks, business offices, labor unions and syndicates.

Later the *patronato* system developed and was very efficient in organizing classes and providing teachers for the groups. The *patronato* is a kind of committee composed of public-spirited citizens, merchants and others, who are the exclusive board for the campaign against illiteracy in their particular community. They disseminate propaganda urging illiterates to attend the collective centers. They make personal visits to the homes of their fellow citizens stirring up interest in the campaign. They collect contributions to pay teachers their salaries, and they conduct special raffles of merchandise after the classes to stimulate attendance or as rewards for pupils' progress.

In the Secretariat of Education they tell a ludicrous anecdote of how a well-dressed middle-aged Mexican woman came pompously into the Office of Alphabetization one day and demanded that they dispatch someone, the police if necessary, to locate the girl she had been teaching. It seems the ungrateful little wench had disappeared the previous week after she had almost learned to read and write.

"And if I don't get her back to finish with her," lamented the woman, "I shall have wasted two whole months!"

Fortunately for the well-being of the campaign, however, such characters are the exception. Most people are giving unstintingly of themselves, for no one can enter into the work without feeling its magnitude and eventual success. The teachers of Mexico are bearing the real weight of the campaign. Many, besides teaching their classes all day long, have two or three collective centers of illiterates to teach evenings, but all of them agree that it is such a worthwhile endeavor that they do not mind the extra hours nor the small financial recompense which they receive.

RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN

Figures on the campaign are accurate and easily obtainable for the Federal District, so we look at them to see what progress has been made during the first three months of endeavor. In June there were 1275 centers under the auspices of the Department of Education of the Federal District and 1315 centers outside their control, or a total of 2590 centers in all of Mexico, D.F.

The average enrollment in these centers was 40 with an average attendance of 30. The number of students attending the collective centers in the Mexican capital is 38,-

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550. Conservatively it is estimated that over 2,000 persons have been taught to read and write in Mexico City in the first three months.

Professor Hernan Morales of the Secretariat of Education, who has been one of the chiefs of the campaign against illiteracy since its initiation, was most optimistic concerning results to date outside the capital. He reports over 25,000 collective centers and 113 patronizing groups all through Mexico.

The best results have been obtained in the following districts: Oaxaca, Tabasco, Chiapas, Campeche, Quintana Roa in the south; Sonora, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Guanajuanto, San Luis Potosi and Tlascala in the north.

The least progress, according to Professor Morales, has been made in Queretaro, Yucatan, Guerrero, Michoacan, Jalisco and Puebla. Reason for the slower progress in these places vary, such as purely political reasons in the case of Yucatan and lack of good organization in Queretaro.

Many remedies have been formulated to nurse the backward districts to a more healthful condition. Secretary of Education, Jaime Torres Bodet, poet, idealist and man of deeds, is untiring in his personal efforts to stimulate the campaign. He takes entire box cars of books on his tours into the backward outlying districts. Of late he has also been taking United States movies. This is a real stimulus in some regions where they have never seen movies!

Propaganda for hygiene and sanitation is being made concurrent with the learn-to-read-and-write ideal, and the big manufacturers of soaps, dentifrices, toothbrushes, drug store patent medicines and antiseptics are sending millions of samples to centers all over Mexico.

The manual used in teaching illiterates to read and write is an officially compiled instruction book, the *Cartilla.* Two school teachers, Dolores Uribe Torres and Carmen Cosgaya Rivas, under the direction of Professor Morales, prepared the lessons after a careful study of many primary textbooks. Then Jaime Torres Bodet added 10 more lessons to be used as more advanced reading lessons. The many excellent illustrations throughout the *Cartilla* make it more easily assimilated.

There is little other officially printed matter being used in the campaign. A lined exercise or work book comes with the *Cartilla,* in which students practice drawing and then writing letters, words and finally entire paragraphs. A book in which the more advanced can write in ink is also provided.

To combat the lure of the cheap thriller comic books, *Chamaco* and *Pepin,* the Secretariat of Education has recently begun publication of a magazine called *Chapulin.* This is a well-planned, constructive, comic-historical magazine with stories of world heroes, fairy tales, ancient myths and news reports of happenings on the world fronts. But as *Chapulin* has not yet one-fiftieth the circulation of *Chamaco* or *Pepin,* it cannot afford as many attractively colored cartoons and illustrations. This puts it at a disadvantage.

One unexpected problem was the need to educate the reading tastes of newly-alphabetized individuals. The Mexican educators are proving

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they are equal to the task, and bit by bit they hope to wean at least the adults away from this inferior literature.

The writer has recently had the opportunity of visiting several diverse types of collective centers in the heart of the Mexican capital. In the forepart of June she attended the Belisario Dominguez School's five centers. Two weeks later she managed to visit a very different kind of collective center in the Mercado Martinez de la Torre, one of the poorest, lowliest market places in Mexico City.

A typical class room in the first group mentioned was in a crude, unpainted building very much in need of repair. The furniture was most inadequate with small children's desks not even fastened to the floor. On the walls were tacked crudely-made posters showing vocal sounds. The young and pretty teacher in a becoming dress was placing exercises on the blackboard to be read in chorus by the class. In contrast to the teacher's appearance, the students were mostly poorly garbed *Mestizas* who were probably servant girls, though a few of the older women were better dressed.

One woman had brought her baby with her and it cried very much, but no one seemed to mind. All went to work writing in their copy books in complete seriousness. Some of them wrote very slowly and awkwardly as if their fingers were too stiff to bend. One is constantly reminded of the long suffering patience which makes the Mexicans capable of enduring so much.

Nineteen students between the ages of six and forty were present when the class began at 6:30 but more kept coming all through the hour. Their teacher kept hearing them recite one by one as each stood in turn by her desk.

The two class rooms in the Mercado Martinez de la Torre were housed in a rude shelter constructed of great sheets of tin and wood. It barely served to keep off the rain and to keep out some of the fierce afternoon wind and dust. In each room was a long table with low benches on either side. These were filled to capacity with eager students. An enthusiastic woman was teaching about 50 charges in one room, while in the other room a man was conducting class for an equal number. The majority of the students maintained small stands in the adjacent marketplace and, for that reason, particularly desired to learn figures. They were an ill clad, backward-looking lot as a whole with not nearly the possibilities of the servant girls at the other school.

POOR ATTENDANCE

These groups were all in the Fifth Delegation. The Chief Promoter, a young teacher, Concepcion Ramirez de Espino, explained that there are on record in the Fifth Delegation some 40,000 illiterates. In spite of all they do to inspire an interest in the centers, not even one-half of these attend the classes.

This brings up one of the biggest problems which the educators have to combat in the campaign: attendance of illiterates. There are all kinds of reasons why more illiterates do not take advantage of the opportunity to learn to read and write.

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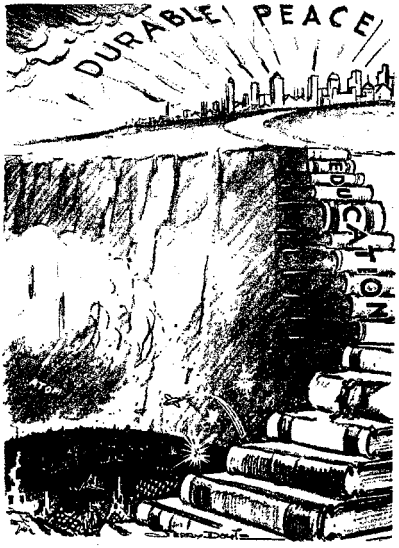

Jerry Doyle in The Philadelphia Record

"STEPS GOING UP"

Many of the *mestiza* servant girls, for instance, are denied the right to attend school by their selfish mistresses. In such cases the law may be invoked, but this is a very arduous and technical procedure and is not always done. In other cases a woman may have five or six children and no one with whom to leave them while she attends class. She is thus prohibited from attending the centers.

So far as the men are concerned, it is usually their own whims and vices which keep them from attending the classes. Even the poorer class Mexican men are relatively free but most of them prefer to spend their idle hours in a bar or a pool hall to a classroom. There are simply too many tempting diversions in a big city.

In the rural districts there are still more serious problems. One is distance and transportation. In many places the *Cartillas* have had to be hauled to their destination on men's shoulders. Most of the country people do hard physical labor all day long. It is reasonable to suppose that by night they are too tired to have any energy left for walking miles to a country schoolhouse just to learn to read and write. The miracle is, though, that many of them are doing it. Given half a chance, a rural Mexican can accomplish wonders. In some places, for instance, children of seven and eight years old do men's work on a diet of corn *tortillas* and beans, then learn to read and write at night school or at classes held at four to six in the morning, and they have accomplished this within a period of two or three months!

There is a brick-manufacturing town of San Bartolome Naucalpan a few miles outside Mexico City where a little boy of six, who carried bricks on his back all day long, learned to read and write at the collective center. His teacher from El Salvador believes that the Mexican character possesses a special facility which enables a student to grasp ideas rapidly and accurately with a minimum of effort. Several other educators with whom the writer talked agreed that the Mexican illiterates can well utilize this extra sense or facility to ease their struggle to learning. Perhaps it is simply an open, eager, hungry mind, after so many centuries of intellectual abnegation.

Members of the Secretariat of Education report that several Un-

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ited States Americans—not missionaries either—have made themselves committees of one to go into some little hidden village and teach the natives reading and writing as well as elementary hygiene. Fundamentally dramatic and humanly appealing is such a situation where, with relatively little effort, an individual can accomplish very much in helping fellow human beings.

When one sees a little boy who had lost both hands in an accident master the art of writing with his feet; a little girl, nearly blind, learning to read as she clutches her book close to her eyes; a life term prisoner reading a newspaper after three months of study in the prison collective center; a Mexican woman write her first letter to her husband who is in the United States as a *bracero* —when one sees things like this, he is terrifically impressed. It is obvious that the Mexicans themselves are taking the campaign in great earnest and results are being obtained.

In keeping with their character sometimes one encounters an individual who takes the campaign too much in earnest. There was the overly-enthusiastic City President of the little village in the State of Oaxaca, for instance, who said to the Minister of Education who came through on an inspection tour, "Mr. Minister, I can promise you for sure that there will not be one illiterate left in Oaxaca a year from today for I shall personally see to it that everyone learns to read and write or I shall shoot him myself." An added note of irony is found in the fact that many of the City Presidents of these little out of the way village do not themselves know how to read or write!

The leaders of this illiteracy campaign and the Mexican educators prefer not to make predictions and they are very modest in their expectations.

As Attorney Enrique Gonzalez Vargas, head of the Federal District Alphabetization Office, states, "The campaign against illiteracy will not achieve its ultimate goal for five to ten years. Even then there will always be a small group which, for lack of mental ability, it will be impossible to educate."

Professor Hernan Morles also admitted that the Secretariat did not expect to succeed in teaching every illiterate in Mexico to read and write this year or next. He believes a greater and more important accomplishment than the immediate success of this campaign will be to set up a permanent office which might systematically continue to attack the illiteracy problem until it has been entirely wiped out.

As for the goal to be achieved by February—3,000,000 to be made literate—it looks very likely that they more than reached that goal.

• Some Washington spy reports that if you buy a pack of cigarettes in the Senate Restaurant you get a book of matches marked with the Senate seal and the legend: *U. S. Senate.* On the other hand, in the House Restaurant, your book of matches contains a picture of a shapely model in underwear.

• The quickest way to wipe out a friendship is to sponge on it.
—*Woodman Magazine*

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The author of Jewish extermination goes free

Call the Mufti!

By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

From his column in the New York Post

THE Nuremberg judges are in possession of evidence that Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the world's chief anti-Zionist, is the author of the Nazi plan for the extermination of over five million Jews. This is according to a sworn affidavit by Dr. Rudolph Kaszner, now in Geneva, Switzerland.

According to Kaszner's affidavit, the Mufti shares the responsibility for history's foulest massacre with Heinrich Himmler and other Nazi butchers.

In his affidavit, dated Geneva Switzerland, January 25, 1946, Kaszner states that S.S. Hauptsturmfuehrer Pieter von Wisliczeny, close cooperator of infamous Adolf Aichmann of the Gestapo, made to him the following statement:

"According to my opinion, the Grand Mufti, who has been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of the German government to exterminate the European Jews. He has repeatedly suggested to Hitler, Himmler and von Ribbentrop the extermination of European Jewry. He considered this as a comfortable solution for the Palestinian problem. He was one of Aichmann's best friends and constantly incited him to accelerate extermination measures. I've heard it said that, accompanied by Aichmann, he has visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz."

Kaszner also quotes Aichmann as saying: "I am a personal friend of the Grand Mufti. We have promised him that no Euorpean Jew would enter Palestine any more. Do you understand now?"

This statement, according to Kaszner, was made by Aichmann in his office in Budapest on June 4, 1944. Wisliczeny, according to Kaszner, made similar statements in 1942 to an engineer, E. Steiner, and to M. B. Weissmandel of the Jewish Rescue and Relief in Bratislava.

Apparently, Wisliczeny has been, or will be, required to testify at the Nuremberg trials.

This raises a far more serious question—why is not the Grand Mufti in Nuremberg on the bench of the accused?

Kaszner, Wisliczeny, Aichmann and possibly Steiner and Weissmandel should be asked to repeat the charges in public hearings.

It is obviously time the full career of Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, should be brought into the light of day. This fanatic Jew-hater is believed to be responsible for instigating Arab riots in Palestine and for the murder of Palestinian Jews. He bears the entire responsibility for the Iraqui revolt of 1941 against the United

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Nations. He is known as the author of a letter to his "Fuehrer," Adolf Hitler, in 1942, promising the Nazis the support of the "Arab Peoples." Yet this Arab had not even been invited to take his place among the Nazi prisoners at Nuremberg. He is supposed to be living somewhere in France in full liberty. This writer has seen evidence that Brigadier General Clayton of the British Intelligence Service in Cairo some time ago urged London authorities to permit the Mufti's return to Jerusalem as the best means of appeasing the Arabs.

Have the Nuremberg judges perhaps not heard of the Grand Mufti? Kaszner states that he has communicated evidence about Aichmann to the Nuremberg prosecutors. Didn't he include Aichmann's and Wisliczeny's charge against the Grand Mufti of inciting to mass murder? Why hasn't the Nuremberg prosecution yet acted upon it? Has it been investigated? Are certain officials opposed to bringing the Mufti's case into the open? Has the Mufti such powerful protectors they can influence justice?

Certainly Kaszner's affidavit should result in making any further suppression of the Mufti's case impossible. If Haj Amin el Husseini actually gave the Nazis the idea of mass murder of Jews, then Haj Amin should suffer the fate of the Nazis who carried out his monstrous suggestion.

• A woman, after the sermon, thanked the minister for his discourse. "I found it so helpful."

The minister replied: "I hope it will not prove so helpful as the last sermon you heard me preach."

"Why, what do you mean?" she asked.

"Well," the minister said, "That sermon lasted you three months!"

• The mills of the gods grind slowly:

President Truman several months ago signed a bill to pay the fare of a group of Spanish-American war veterans who found themselves stranded in the Philippines when the war ended 42 years ago. Those G. I.'s of 1898 came home at their own expense and formed an organization which throughout the years fought for a refund.

AND ALL AROUND

• Ivan Demetrius and Mischa Petrovitz loved to argue. Standing on a street corner in Moscow, whence they had come to enjoy a much-needed furlough, they watched an infantry regiment marching by.

"Do men grow upward or downward?" asked Ivan absently.

"Why, downward, of course," replied Mischa.

"How do you know, Mischa?" asked Ivan.

"Because," replied Mischa, "once when I outgrew an overcoat it became too short for me at the bottom."

"No, Mischa," replied Ivan, looking out at the marching soldiers, "men grow upward."

"Why do you say that, Ivan?"

"Because," replied Ivan, "you will see that our brothers marching out there are all even at the bottom, but uneven at the top."

•Fair dealing among all nations may be in sight, but so is Mars.
—Banking

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A chapter from a "soap" script

Enter—Persephone

By Sydney J. Harris

From his column "Strictly Personal" in the Chicago Daily News

IF I give up this column-writing racket pretty soon, it will be because my new daytime radio serial has found a rich sponsor. The program production boys assure me I can't miss.

This thing I'm working on is to be called "Persephone Goldfarb Apprentice Shoplifter," and will run 15 minutes every morning, Monday through Friday, just between the vacuum cleaner and the potato peeling. Several undertaking firms are bidding hotly for the show.

All I've written so far are the first 10 chapters, but these give you a rough idea of the gripping human drama I have packed into my script. As we meet Persephone, her mother has just been trampled to death by a runaway circus elephant, and her father has gone blind after drinking a pint of antifreeze that he siphoned from an auto on Canal St.

But despite these minor adversities, Persephone faces the world bravely. You see, she has the honest, manly love of Young Dr. McGoon, who is an interne at a snake hospital, and whose left arm is amputated in chapter two as the result of an unfortunate encounter with a boa constrictor. He faces the world bravely too.

Young Dr. McGoon's chief at the hospital, Superintendent Tetanus, is an oily scoundrel, who runs a shoplifting syndicate on the side and also performs illegal operations on young snakes. He is assisted in these nefarious activities by Nurse Anemia Kronkheit, a notorious typhoid-carrier.

Now Superintendent Tetanus is in love with Persephone, while Nurse Kronkheit is in love with Tetanus. The patient in Room 611, suffering from delirium tremens, is in love with Nurse Kronkheit, little knowing that she is really his stepmother through the marriage of his father-in-law's niece to Superintendent Tetanus' oldest son—who in turn is really Persephone's long-missing grandfather and a brother of Judge Crater, who never gets into the serial at all. Neat plotting, huh?

Anyhow, Tetanus finally gets Persephone into his clutches, and by threatening to tell her Girl Scout leader that she drinks cobra juice spiked with gin, forces her to join his shoplifting gang. Her first day on the job, Persephone swipes a genuine rabbit coat from Mingel's basement and . . .

That's as far as I've got. But don't miss tomorrow's exciting installment. Will Persephone be arrested? Will Tetanus get his lumps, the dirty dog? I wish I knew.

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The utilities are bent on its destruction

R. E. A. Under Fire

By Thomas L. Stokes

From his column in the Philadelphia Record

UNDER cover of the war, powerful interests again began trying to regain special privileges they lost during the New Deal reform era.

The situation was favorable because the people's attention was riveted on the war and because the controlling influence in Congress, the coalition of Southern conservative Democrats and Republicans, was sympathetic to their objectives.

A glaring example was the attempt of the insurance industry to get exemption from federal anti-trust laws. It almost succeeded. It did get a waiver until 1948. Not long ago, too, the railroads got a bill through the House to exempt them from the anti-trust laws. This measure has not been considered yet by the Senate, which scotched the insurance scheme.

Now another campaign is under way to break down a New Deal reform in behalf of the farmers.

This is the attempt by power companies, operating under the unified command of the so-called Edison Electric Institute, to stop further appropriations for the Rural Electrification Administration so it cannot extend any more loans to farm cooperatives to provide cheap rural electricity. The power companies have seized the opportunity afforded them by the cessation of such activity by R.E.A. during the war on account of shortage of materials. Now R.E.A. is ready to go ahead again.

You may have noticed evidence of this campaign in radio programs, magazines and newspaper advertisements, idyllic in nature, about how the private power companies are going to extend the blessings of electricity to everybody.

What they are fighting specifically, as far as R.E.A. goes, is the bill for an appropriation of $585,000,000 for a three-year loan program to try to complete the job of farm electrification, in co-operation, as always, with the private companies. Such a bill passed the Senate last spring. A companion measure in the House, sponsored by Rep. Poage (D., Tex.), still is held in the Interstate Commerce Committee. It is suffering the same fate as other measures on President Truman's program bottled up in House committees.

R.E.A. has $200,000,000 on which to operate until June 30. All but $55,000,000 of this had been committed by January 1, while more than $200,000,000 in applications are pending from farm cooperatives which want to extend lines in their communities. This illustrates the demand.

There are still more than three

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million farms which do not have electricity, about half or less than half of the total number of farms. Electrification thus far has been provided about half and half by private companies and R.E.A. co-operatives. It is known that private companies would not have done even as much as they have without the R.E.A. competition and compulsion.

The electric industry boasts how it can do the job. But not only is its past performance proof that it won't but its own figures of what it plans to do in the next three years show it will not nearly finish the job. In recent months "spite line" activity has been increased by some private companies. This is the building of a line into an area, not to serve all the requirements of that area, but to keep out the R.E.A.

Claude Wickard, R.E.A. Administrator, former Secretary of Agriculture, says private companies are fighting R.E.A. extension so they may pick out the most profitable areas and develop them, leaving other farmers without needed service.

"If we permit cream-skimming of all the good territories," he said, "a lot of people are going to be left without the benefits of electricity. It is unfair and un-American to let anything occur that will deprive rural people of anything as vital as electric service."

Why not attack "first things first"?

Mrs. Feddup Screams

By Malvina Lindsay

From her column "The Gentler Sex" in the Washington Post

MRS. Francine Feddup, who is periodically arrested for screaming, was again in police court for disturbing the peace.

"Mrs. Feddup," said the judge, "you've been out of trouble for a long time. What set you off this time?"

"It was reading the prophecies, your honor," was the reply. "I mean the ones about all the gadgets that are going to do our work for us when atomic power gets cheap enough."

"Don't you want life made easier for you?" asked the judge.

"Certainly. But I got fed up with all this putting of the cart before the horse. You see, I got to brooding over how silly it was to be constantly talking and planning about these gadgets and doing nothing to make sure we'd be around to enjoy them."

"But what started you screaming?"

"It was on the street car. I was reading a newspaper—"

"What!" interrupted the judge. "Didn't you promise the last time you wouldn't take your paper in the street car?"

"It wasn't mine. I was reading over a man's shoulder. And I hap-

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pened to see another of those prophecies. This was about how electrons would burn the egg yolk and bacon grease off the breakfast dishes. Just then everything else rushed over me."

"Everything else?"

"Yes, all the lectures and radio talks I'd heard. They always wound up with the warning we'd have to break down suspicion and fear and develop mutual confidence among people, if we were to save civilization."

"I don't see the connection," said the judge.

"You wouldn't," retorted Mrs. Feddup. "The whole thing is, if we have to develop mutual confidence to save our hides, why aren't we busy doing it instead of developing gadgets to get the egg yolk off our dishes?"

"Well, of course that's a different matter," said the judge. "It's all very complex——"

"Why is it?" demanded Mrs. Feddup. "Why aren't we having a big research program to find out how to cure people of their fears and suspicions and greed and intolerance and hatred? Why haven't we called in the psychiatrists and the sociologists and the economists and the preachers and the teachers, and given them laboratories and money, and told them to get busy finding out how to prevent Hitlers, and Tojos, and sword rattlers, and bigots, and fanatical nationalists, and scrap-iron imperialists——"

"You're getting off the subject," testily warned the judge.

"You asked me what started me screaming. I'm telling you. You see it just rushed over me that the world was topsy-turvy. Why were all the future prophecies about gadgets? Why wasn't someone predicting that someday we'd have a race of mature people, as well as a bunch of glass houses? If the way to prevent war, as a psychiatrist said the other day, is to have enough mature people in the right spots, then why in heaven's name aren't we spending millions of dollars developing some, instead of putting the money into atom bombs to scare the world to death?"

"What has all this got to do with your screaming?" demanded the judge.

"Everything!" retorted Mrs. Feddup. "Then another thing that rushed over me was, 'Why doesn't someone predict a manufacturer who will see beyond his nose and not sell the country into inflation, depression, war, by clamoring for a chance to make profits at the expense of everybody else?'"

"You're getting into economics," warned the judge. "That's dangerous ground for a woman."

"The men haven't been so hot at it," shot back Mrs. Feddup.

"This is getting absurd," said the judge.

"Isn't it!" smiled Mrs. Feddup. "All this excitement and planning to get egg yolk and bacon grease off dishes and doing nothing to get the cobwebs out of our brains—"

"Mrs. Feddup," interrupted the judge, "you should know by now you can't change human nature."

Mrs. Feddup threw up her hands. A loud scream pierced the courtroom.

"Thirty days!" shouted the judge. "I wonder what on earth made her scream that time," he remarked as Mrs. Feddup was led away.

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Babylon and Babel

For what was dark and vast
Man used to read the past.

Two words he brooded on
Were Babel and Babylon

The tower that rose so steep,
The town that sank so deep.

But words and worlds decay.
Where are those two today?

Tame as an infant's fable
Are Babylon and Babel

Not with the dusty dead
But now and overhead
Our darkness and our dread.

—ROBERT FRANCIS.

Bridgehead

Hearing the gull's cry, now, above the roar
Of angry waters striking at the shore,
I might believe divine repose no more

Is anywhere surviving . . . only anger,
And terror, with all gentle things in danger,
And evil come, and good an outcast stranger, . . .

Save that I turn to see, here, in this place,
Surprisingly, the strong and tranquil grace,
Secure and regnant, in another's face,

Who watches with me the wild, senseless storm
Of chaos warring, still, upon sweet form
That knows itself divine and safe from harm.

—DAVID MORTON.

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The filibuster is the least of evils

Revise Congress

By Merlo Pusey

From his column in the Washington Post

THE session in which it was hoped Congress would redeem itself began with a filibuster. Instead of inspiring new confidence in Congress as our national policymaking body, the performance in the Senate sent a wave of disgust over the nation. Millions of plain people saw in it not so much a revolt against an unwise piece of legislation as an indication that Congress is failing to meet its responsibility as a legislative body.

There is not much point in trying to apportion the blame for this foolish gabfest. Certainly the filibusters must be severely condemned for using such an undemocratic weapon. But sponsors of the F.E.P.C. bill are also open to criticism for injecting so controversial an issue into the emergency now confronting Congress. Most serious of all, Congress itself is open to censure for its failure to replace its out-worn legislative machinery which reduces lawmaking to a hit-or-miss process.

Actually, of course, filibustering is one of the minor evils by which Congress is afflicted. It arouses a great deal of hostility because it is spectacular—a public demonstration of disorderly and undemocratic procedure. But in practice it is less important than the waste of congressional time on trivia, the inefficiency of the present committee system and the lack of leadership in working out a legislative program.

The big question about Congress is whether it will devote itself whole-heartedly to overcoming these major handicaps. Last year it summoned the courage to order a searching examination of its structure and method of working. That study has now been completed. An excellent report has been prepared and is being considered by the La Follette-Monroney Committee before submission to the entire Congress.

Contents of the report have not been released, but there is sufficient agreement on the nature of the problem to justify the assumption that it will urge strengthening Congress in the following manner:

1. Create policy committees in both the House and Senate. This is probably the most important single move that can be made to strengthen our democratic system. To be effective, of course, these policy committees would have to work with the President as a sort of legislative cabinet. It would be their job to outline, in collaboration with the President, a legislative program for every session. The President's message on the state of the union would not then go to a skeptical Congress as advice from afar. Rather, it would reflect the best judgment of the President and his congressional

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advisers—the program of a united administration. The result would inevitably be a lessening of the friction that usually arises when the policymaking functions of the President and Congress are exercised in wholly separate spheres.

2. Sharply reduce the number of congressional committees. Legislative responsibility is now haphazardly disbursed among 33 standing committees in the Senate and 48 in the House, plus about 20 special committees. Each tends to become a tight little presidium in its own field, with wasteful overlapping of work performed. Such loose organization discourages any comprehensive policymaking and tends to narrow legislative vision to pin-point problems.

If it is true that the La Follette-Monroney Committee proposes to consolidate all these heterogeneous bodies into 16 major committees in each house, there will be howls of indignation from those who feel the chairs of authority slipping from under them. But the public will loudly applaud. And if there is general appreciation of the crisis that democracy faces, the clamor will force the changes through.

3. Relieve Congress of trivial duties for which it has no time. This will involve creation of a local government for the District of Columbia and some machinery for handling the innumerable claims now submitted to Congress in the form of special bills. It will involve also better staffing of Congressional committees and strengthening of the Legislative Reference Service.

Uninformed critics often assume more work by Congressmen is all that is necessary. Slight acquaintances with Capitol Hill would show them that Congressmen are among the most over-worked groups in America. One essential of any reform plan is to relieve them of minor duties so that they may concentrate on the basic task of shaping our national policy.

The question is whether Congress will have the foresight and statesmanship to prepare itself for the larger role it must play to keep democracy virile and responsive to the will of the people. Will it let fixed habits of doing things and little vested interests of a few individual members stand in the way of modernizing our legislative system? Or will it strike out boldly for adjustment of its machinery to the age in which we are living, as did the founding fathers 159 years ago? The answer that Congress gives may be expected in the long run to overshadow any action taken on the emergency bills now commanding the limelight.

DEMANDING HIS RIGHTS

●Two perspiring men in Oakland, California, walked off the streets into a tavern. One of them ordered a beer. While the bartender rang up the 10-cent sale, they pulled guns and robbed the till of $200.

As they turned to leave, the one who ordered the beer stopped to gulp it down. His companion admonished him to get along. "What's your hurry?" snapped the drinker. "I paid for it, didn't I?"

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Management and labor should understand each other

Blueprint—Labor Peace

By H. I. Phillips

From his column "The Once Over" in the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

THIS is the Elmer Twitchell Plan for Better Understandings Between Labor and Management:

1.—Fundamentally all the trouble is due to the fact neither side completely understands the other. There can be no peace until some system is adopted, so that each side can experience all the headaches of the other.

2.—Workers do not get enough golf. Employers do not get enough life without golf. Let the workingman have the golf clubs six months a year and provide him with a set of clubs. After a few weeks of worrying over backswings and the right grip, all other problems will seem relatively unimportant. And the boss, six months away from golf and not giving a darn about the pivot or knee action would find himself a different person. Positively.

3.—Let the workers split with the bosses the routine of going through the mail, answering the necessary letters, correcting Miss Abernathy's spelling, trying to find the memoranda which was put where it couldn't be mislaid, wading through those long lunches at the Business Men's Club.

(And make the employers eat some of those sandwiches put into a worker's lunch box).

4.—Alternate months let the workers prepare banquet speeches, sit through dull operas, get into stiff shirts and tuxedos for dinner, use three types of fork and worry about stomach ulcers. And make the boss go to those smokers, stop for a beer at Hennessy's, have a quickie of corned beef and cabbage and endure all those double features.

5.—For part of every month make the workers serve on new relief campaigns, worry over dinner speeches, explain to stockholders, wade through the questionnaires, fill out the required federal forms and always keep their pants pressed; while the bosses shake their own drinks, help mind the baby, listen to the radio in their stockinged feet and tend the furnace.

6.—Let the workingman have three homes, two cars, an outdoor swimming pool, a yacht and those week-end house parties. That should help make him realize what the boss has to stand up under. And make the employer live in the little bungalow, raise tropical fish, get along with the undersized medicine cabinet, use the family tub, fix his own plumbing, eat in his shirt sleeves and help eight kids with the homework. Brother, there will be closer understandings after that.

(Copies of the above plan may be had by sending in a barrel of potatoes, a priority on a new Ford and eight lumps of sugar).

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"The almighty dollar" gets us nowhere

College Dilemma

By Paul Jones

From his column "Candid Shots" in The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

AT present, we understand, there is a nearly hopeless jam around the counters where new students apply for admission to college. Since neither buildings nor faculty are made of two-way stretch india rubber, the deans find themselves obliged to turn away droves of likely candidates. Some are veterans, some belong to the current harvest of secondary school graduates, and some belong to the backlog formed during the war when otherwise eligible young men took jobs in defense plants.

As far as the ex-serviceman is concerned, the whole situation is a beautiful example of the touching faith this country shows in the power of legislation and the power of money. Somewhere in one of his stories, Scott Fitzgerald, isolating in a sentence the spirit of the great boom during the 20's, says that if it was cold or snowing, you just paid somebody some money, and then it wasn't cold and the snow wasn't real snow. Money would do anything.

We now believe that government money will do anything. And so Congress passed a generous bill, guaranteeing a college education to every veteran who wanted one. To make sure he got it, Congress said that the nation would pay tuition and other fees up to $500 a year, and that the veteran could count on $50 a month (now raised to $65, or $15 a week) for maintenance.

Now, obviously, the whole idea back of this measure was that all you needed was the dough; that colleges could take on any amount of new students, provided they received the regular payment each term. Almost any one connected with an institution of higher learning could have testified otherwise.

We have no doubt many educators did so testify, but of course, no one paid any attention to them. They—for the moment—played the role of a road block on the highway of progress.

Who gets the blame now? The colleges, of course. But before we pin the rap on them, let's look into this matter a little further. For about four years, they have been in the armed service, supplying courses and special instruction desired by the Army and Navy. They got some income out of A.S.T.P., V-5, and V-12, but not in such amounts as to qualify them for membership in the War Profiteers Club. On the contrary, their position now is much worse than it was in 1941. They need new equipment, repairs, more buildings, increased pay for the teaching staff, and a little money in hand with which to lure the right sort of people into underpaid chairs.

In short, at the very moment

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when the colleges are down-at-the-heel, the country dumps on their lap the problem of educating nearly a million new students. The rest of us lack cars, refrigerators, mayonnaise mixers, coffee percolators, saxophones and aluminum pitch-pipes. All these things, in the fullness of time, will be granted to us, whenever the factories get going.

But where is the factory which will turn us out, by next October, a knee-action, fluid-drive history professor? Or a high-frequency, 18 tube English pundit? Where can we shop for a physics demonstrator or a first class chemist? Who will find us the biologists we need, or the plant sharks to teach us botany?

Remember that the usual supply of these teachers has also been curtailed by the draft and by the demands of military and naval research. And if we cannot have good men to instruct the GI's, shall we give them poor men and trust to luck that the victims will not notice the difference?

Well, why not! Why be so particular about your standards, when Congress quite clearly doesn't know what the score is? Shall we be more patriotic (if possible) than a hog-and-hominy, race-conscious, gallus-snapping shyster who happens to hold a mandate from a malaria-ridden constituency?

Or just to keep things even, shall we wave the flag more violently than a wall-eyed conservative from a rotten borough in the North? Or than a panting liberal, sprung from the deep heart of the "peepul" in a city district? Because they all voted for something they must have known was not in their power to grant.

They used to say that a college education was nothing more than Mark Hopkins on one end of a log, and a scholar on the other. We have the students, and although lumber is in short supply, we might be able to get the logs. But where are the Mark Hopkinses?

Some people keep assuring us that there is no problem at all. Let the colleges lower their entrance requirements, because these boys have been away fighting for two or three years, and can't be expected to remember some of the stuff they learned in high school. Crowd the classrooms. It is not important what they learn. The important thing is that eventually they get a diploma.

If we adopt any such plan, the net result will be: 1. To cheat the GI, by giving him a deplorable ersatz substitute for the education he wants and deserves; 2. To break down the standard of college instruction, such as it is; 3. To rub out two or three generations of the sort of men on whom we depend for the genuine educators of the future.

What shall we do then? We don't know, but we suspect that the problem will be even more acute next October than it is now. Somebody ought to do something—we have it! Congress ought to pass a law and appropriate some money.

• **Finding himself unable to meet his engagement in a certain town, a lecturer wired: "Give audience back their money." He received the following reply: "We have given the audience back his money, and he has gone home perfectly satisfied."** —*Tit-Bits*

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The National Budget provides for all

Budget Items

By Frederick C. Othman

From his column in the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

HAVING analyzed the national budget carefully with my bride's bath room scales (guaranteed accurate), I can confirm President Truman's statement that it's down. Last year the budget weighed five pounds flat. This year, gray binding included:

Three pounds, 10 ounces.

The new budget contains 975 pages and tells exactly where our government intends to spend $35,800,000,000 in 1947. Let us dive in for a look at where some of the money goes:

A new limousine for the vice-president of the U. S. A., a functionary who does not now exist, $4,000. Varnishing and cleaning the Senate's furniture, $2,000. Folding its documents, $8,000. Overhauling the Senators' two private subway cars, $2,000.

Salary of the deputy sergeant-at-arms in charge of the House of Representatives' mace, $3,180. Two revolving doors, the Capitol, $6,000. The Botanic Gardens, prohibited by law from giving away any rose bushes, $136,100.

Transportation of things at the White House (what things I have no idea), $3. Transporting things at the White House also cost $3 last year and $3 the year before.

Inspecting meat — $9,160,000. Investigating milk, $171,900. Controlling bugs (including importation of beneficial bugs), $2,579,000.

A new sedan for Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace, $1,800. Note: Ex-Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes owes somebody $10 from 1945, but he doesn't know who. Come forward and identify yourself.

Educating Indians, $9,177,900. Conserving Indians' health, $6,769,570. Preserving Abraham Lincoln's birthplace, $2,393.

Investigating fish, $765,000. Wages of a blacksmith in the anchorage office of the Alaska Railroad, $3,862. Rewards to those who catch postoffice burglers, $55,000. Unusual conditions at postoffices, $50,000. That's what the book said: Unusual conditions.

Street car fares for United States Treasury officials in Washington, $500. Guns, bullets and uniforms for White House cops, $9,000. Special paper with red silk threads in it for moolah, $775,000. Catching the guys who make money without red silk threads, $1,911,000.

Purchase of samples (H-m-m-m) by the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, $1,000. Dog catchers, same town, $28,200.

The budget's an interesting book. It is also good as a doorstop, and not bad, despite its weight reduction, as a blunt instrument.

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FORUM: IS THE DEMOBII

YES!

By Louis A. Cox

IT was with great and understandable pride that the nation talked of its triumphant citizen-soldiery a year ago. And now we are forced to wonder if the American Army is composed of soldiers at all. Far more important, we are forced to wonder if they realize that they are citizens of a great nation in an indivisible world, if they realize what this citizenship implies and requires.

The demonstrations against curtailment in demobilization in January are shocking evidence of the lack of a comprehension of responsibility in that segment of the nation's citizenry charged with guarding the nation's present and future interests around the world. The turmoil has subsided now and the world can consider Frankfort and Manila and what lay behind the demonstrations there more soberly. It is well to consider the nature and causes of these protests, to question whether they were justified, to examine the conditions of which they are symptomatic, to delve into their roots and isolate the fundamental disease which produces such symptoms.

Anyone who understands the nature of the greater part of the Army came to the prompt conclusion that the immediate cause of the outbreaks was simply the overflowing homesickness and boredom of the troops There is a desultory tension among all men overseas, inevitable as it is unfortunate. In addition to the natural nostalgia and tension, there was a great deal of bitter resentment against the Army in general and irregularities in the discharge of low-point men in particular. Looking backwards, it is apparent that these were the ingredients of an explosive force. It was set off by the War Department's announcement that—in effect—300,000 two-year men would have to wait about ten weeks more than they had anticipated before they could be discharged. Then came the outburst, understandable, but not justifiable.

General Eisenhower has stated: "Primarily, two underlying causes are responsible for the present confusion— . . . first, . . . the nation's release from the emergency of war started an emotional wave to get men out of the Army; . . . second, . . . the almost incredible speed with which the War Department moved in bringing men home from V-J Day to the close of the year . . . helped to create confusion by stimulating optimism among service men and their families." But there is more to it than this. The demonstrations are indicative of a flaw deep in the machinations of our policies or in the character of our people. The riotous demonstrations move us to question

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ATION PROGRAM FAIR?

NO!

By Elbert P. Thompson

THE newspapers of the past few months have given much space to the manner in which the demobilization program has been handled by the services. Until September, 1945, no more than the expected number of protests were made, while from September to December, the proposed Army-Navy merger arguments took up most of the newspaper space and the time of officialdom. Since that time protests have risen on all sides Our forces overseas have held rallies and mass protest demonstrations. When we realize that few soldiers or sailors will normally risk going so counter to regulations as to join demonstrations, even when much aroused, these protests take on greater significance.

In fairness to all concerned, it must be admitted that no system of discharge could possibly please everyone. The present systems offered a means of demobilization so long as they were fairly followed. Ultimately, everything hinges on the fact that the War and Navy Departments feel they have certain demands and commitments that have to be met no matter who is hurt. On the other hand, the men in the services fail to agree with them as to the necessity of these commitments or the manner in which occupation duties have been handled. Lately the greatest amount of criticism has been aimed at the Army, which is undertaking the occupation and military government duties to which we are committed. During the second week of January, 1946, General Eisenhower made a statement before Congress as to progress in the past, the future of demobilization and the relation of the needs of the services to the whole program. The statement is a clear and excellent explanation of the necessity for occupation duty, the manner in which demobilization has been handled, the way it will be handled in the future and the general duties that are still before the Army as an instrument of world peace. Further, it offers dates upon which occupation-bound soldiers or those still held in this country with certain definite point totals, may expect to be released. It is the complete answer, so long as it is followed, but most unfortunately, it was made a good four months too late. During that time, the bad feeling and the protests had a chance to mount higher and higher. Settling many of the arguments, it still leaves the mistakes of the past and the misconceptions of the present to rankle.

The Army, keeping more men on occupation duty than the Navy, has furnished most of the complaints. In general, this is the feeling of the occupation soldier. True, the services have discharged more men than they expected. Sensational promises by authoritative spokesmen as to how fast the

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(Continued from page 624)

the whole concept of force as an instrument of policy, to inquire into the nature of our obligations as citizens of the world's most powerful country.

But the first question to be answered is: "Why do we need so many men overseas?" This is the most obvious factor in the whole problem, it is the biggest issue in the minds of those who took part in almost hysterical mass protests against the slow-up in bringing them home. General Eisenhower has supplied the answer lucidly and irrefutably. There are few public officials in whom we can put more confidence; there is no reason to doubt the facts and estimates that he has placed before the people and its Congress. To this all-important question he has given a forthright and detailed reply.

PROBLEMS OF RECONVERSION

There are not many in this country who do not realize the problems of reconversion. Germany and Austria are also reconverting, but the throes which they must pass through make our own troubles seem pale in comparison. These enemy nations have been terribly torn by war; their very structure of government had disintegrated; they must be reconverted, or rather 'reconstructed", from the ground up. Roughly one quarter of their problems are now those of the American Army, and the fact that our allies are in the reconstruction business with us greatly complicates the task. Their industry, agriculture, trade, commerce, finance, transportation, communication and education must be scrupulously guided and administered by American troops. They must be disarmed militarily and economically, their war potential must be destroyed. They must be led slowly and surely towards self-government, they must be prepared to rejoin the community of nations. The Army is answerable to higher authority for the attainment of these objectives. Their attainment demands men.

The Army must also care for and eventually repatriate 600,000 displaced persons. It is charged with the allocation of relief supplies and must cooperate with the relief agencies of U.N.R.R.A. It is responsible for the administration. guarding and eventual release of a great many prisoners of war; by May it is estimated that 735,000 persons will be under its custody.

In addition, it is in charge of the preservation and eventual disposal of enormous amounts of government property. The logistical structure of our widely ranged combat troops must be "demobilized" along with the troops themselves. Fourteen billion dollars' worth of supplies, munitions and all the matériel which supported our millions of soldiers are scattered around the world. The Army is accountable for their maintenance and liquidation.

We are occupying enemy lands, places where anarchy always threatens and frequently breaks out. That means guards. It means patrols of 2,000 miles of boundaries in the E.T.O. alone. It means sentries at telephone centers, military stores, electrical plants, roads and bridges, where saboteurs may strike if given the least opportunity.

In the Pacific theatre the situation is very similar. Most of the same

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demands on manpower exist, and there they are greatly increased by the vast distances with which we are dealing. The many island bases must be rolled up, the entire supply mechanism which had been built to a maximum in preparation for the invasion of the Japanese home islands must be closed out. Certain strategic bases are to be maintained—for example, Okinawa—a necessary rear area for our forces in Japan. The extenuated supply lines make still greater demands on our personnel.

The troops required to carry out all these and other similar commitments overseas make necessary a considerable number of service forces to keep them supplied with food and equipment And a proportional amount of men must be retained at home to operate the domestic plant prerequisite to the maintenance and movement of personnel and supplies overseas. Hospitals, camps and posts, ports of debarkation and embarkation, training centers for replacement and separation centers all add to the necessity of retaining a minimum number of men in the Army at home.

Given the rapid rate of discharge and these inescapable obligations, the result was unavoidable. General Eisenhower has summed up the matter as follows: "But in this spectacular success of demobilization . . . the Army was rapidly approaching the foreseeable juncture of two incompatibles: the speed of demobilization and our duties at home and overseas—the occupation duties delegated to us by higher authority and the protection and disposal of millions of tons of government property throughout the world representing billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money." This is the crux of the War Department's case for the necessity of slowing down demobilization.

USE OF CIVILIANS

But reason is no cure for homesickness. Other questions and doubts are quickly raised. There are those who want to know why the Army cannot use civilians for much of its work. The answer is that it does use them. In Europe, only 21 per cent of those employed by the theatre engineer are American soldiers. Furthermore, civilians are apt to be unreliable; they cannot be used more extensively than they are because of this. The Army commanders have been as economical with their manpower as is practical; the need for a minimum of troops remains.

There are those that assert that the War Department has broken its promise by not releasing all high point men as quickly as possible. The point system was never intended as a promise. It was never meant as more than a rough guide to precedence in demobilization as men became dispensable. The War Department estimates on demobilization, the only thing which might be misconstrued as a "promise", have been exceeded by 60 per cent. "There is no change in policy; there is no change in plan. We have merely reached a point in the pursuance of our plans which we knew we must face when the time came. That time is now."

There are those who wonder why there should be exceptions, why low point men should be released while high pointers are retained. The requirement of our forces overseas are such that skilled men are needed in many

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Alexander in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

"'ROUND AND 'ROUND WE GO"

places. They cannot be replaced except by highly trained personnel. Training takes time; until replacements arrive, certain skilled men are indispensable.

There are those who ask why we do not use Regular Army men to perform our tasks abroad. The answer is plain—there aren't enough. And those that there are are entitled to 90 days' furlough after re-enlistment and before shipping overseas as replacements.

To those who want to know why two-year men overseas have not been replaced, the answer is equally obvious. There are simply not enough replacements. The Selective Service has supplied steadily diminishing quotas since the end of the war; the Selective Service Act is fast expiring, with the distinct possibility that election-minded Congressmen will not extend it; in the face of these conditions, rapid demobilization cannot be continued. The American people as represented in Congress are responsible for this lack of replacements; the War Department is not.

Finally, there are those who claim that we are bungling the occupation job so badly that the sooner we get out of Germany, the better it will be for all concerned. The story of our occupation of Germany is not a happy one; this is directly attributable to the failure of the four allies to evolve a common and concrete policy of occupation. But our armies must be maintained as an indication—far more convincing to the world than the lofty speeches of our statesmen—of our genuine intention to meet our obligations and support the U.N.O. whole-heartedly.

In this connection it is wise to recall General Eisenhower's observation: "Discipline . . . has a wider significance than the simple protection of the lives of American soldiers and of government stores. Our example in maintaining law and order throughout the conquered countries will have the most far-reaching effect in hastening the pacification of the German people. If through the curtailment of manpower, lawlessness and contempt for the American brand of justice should be permitted to develop, it would weaken our prestige throughout Europe."

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But it was not only in enemy country that the "policemen wanted to go home" and declared as much to friend and foe alike. The Philippines present a situation that is not widely understood. The wanton destruction perpetrated by the Japanese has left the country stripped of the basic means of maintaining law and order. Guerilla bands roam the hills "bent on pilferage", poverty and economic stagnation have plunged the country into virtual anarchy which can be warded off only through our maintaining a considerble force there. The recruiting of Filipinos to replace our men is progressing apace, but until such time as a minimum force has been recruited and trained, it is our manifest duty to stand by and aid the islands in regaining the elementary vestiges of government.

TRUE CAUSE OF EXPLOSIONS

An army poll of a typical cross-section of soldiers in Germany last fall has shown that 80 per cent of them favored the occupation of Germany for ten years. Despite the emotional storms of January, the reasons for their believing this have not changed. And if the policy which they thus confirmed is not to be abandoned, then the demobilization slow-up was inevitable. In the light of the array of facts presented above, we can conclude only that the demobilization protests were as unjustifiable as they were regrettable.

According to the Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes* and a good deal of opinion at home, the true cause of these emotional explosions lay not in homesickness, but in resentment against an "undemocratic" Army. The Army is charged with treating its enlisted men as "second-class citizens" in a "caste system inherited from Frederick the Great of Prussia." It is undeniably true that conditions do exist which are unfair to the enlisted men. Among these are officers' clubs which provide facilities of which enlisted men are deprived, as is often the case. Terminal leaves for commissioned personnel are to be deplored—the majority of officers admit as much. But to call these and other such matters a "caste system inherited from Frederick the Great" is more than inexcusable exaggeration. It is plain misstatement of the facts. This sort of system presupposes an essentially militaristic country, an almost hereditary officer class similar to the Junkers, and a huge standing army. It presupposes a national affinity for soldiering and disciplined life. It presupposes a system of education in which waging war successfully is reckoned man's highest attainment. These conditions are notably absent in this country and always have been.

Consider the origin of the great majority of our officers with whom the enlisted men came in contact. They were commissioned from the ranks or from R.O.T.C. programs, they maintained an essentially civilian outlook on all situations with which they were confronted. To charge these men with supporting a caste system is to imply that such a caste system exists in civilian life, but the same editorial in *Stars and Stripes* mentions "democratic America." Ask any veteran of front line combat about relations between officers and men. Ninety-nine out of 100 will deny any treatment as "second-class citizens."

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As regards various officer privileges, it should be remembered that the average officer is a more responsible soldier than the average enlisted man. Therefore it is only right that he should be exempt from certain restrictions. Exceptions tend to cloud the issue here as in other areas of discussion, but to admit exceptions is not to admit that the system should be condemned.

We may pass over the relationship between privilege and the maintenance of essential discipline with no more than brief consideration. It is a subject too familiar to warrant prolonged discussion. Suffice it to say that it is open to doubt whether resentment against "caste system" had any real effect in causing the protest demonstrations. To hold that it did is to admit ignorance of the character of the American soldier.

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

Perhaps the real roots of the whole matter are best brought to light by noting the implications of an editorial which appeared in the *Boston Traveler* in January: ". . it is the trouble that has beset the American Army after every war since the American Revolution. This is not a militaristic country, Americans don't like Army life, they don't intend to be soldiers, they don't intend to stay abroad. The man who disregards that doesn't know American history and he doesn't know American character. The New Deal disregarded it. The New Deal has made, and is still making, commitments all 'round the world, committing the lives of Americans to foreign lands. It can make them, but can it live up to them? . . ." On December 7, 1941, it should have become clear once and for all to the blindest American that the lives of Americans "have been committed to foreign lands" most irrevocably, not by the New Deal, but by the inexorable course of history. How often must it be pointed out that the Kansas farmer, the Oregon lumberman, the Boston broker, do not live thousands of miles from the rest of the world, that they live but a few hours from London and Moscow, that their future is inextricably interwoven with that of their neighbor across the world? We cannot prevaricate; we dare not procrastinate; we are committed.

For better or for worse we are still living in a rather Machiavellian world where force is the most effective instrument of policy. Our obligations to ourselves, our neighbor nations and our posterity are clear and inescapable. If we are to have peace—and a glance at the alternative makes it sure that we must have it—we must have more than the absence of war. Peace is not a negative thing; it demands positive cooperation to the fullest measure. This is the essence of the whole question of demobilization. We are citizens of a great nation by heritage, we are citizens of the world by implacable necessity Citizenship requires the acceptance of responsibility, the acknowledgment that inasmuch as the nation is responsible for cooperation, each individual citizen is responsible for the acceptance of our commitment to extirpate war from the world.

The American Army is essentially no different from the American people, it is but a part of the people, and it thinks the same as the people Therefore the significance of demobilization protests is this: a great part of

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the people of the most powerful country in the world do not realize that they are responsible for the solution of the world's problems, overseas as well as at home.

If we are to meet our commitments, we cannot withdraw our troops from abroad. General Eisenhower has stated that the two-year men and the men with sufficient points will be out of Europe by the end of June. It is up to the people and its Congress to see that they are replaced. We must make this problem our own. Only then can we discharge our obligations effectively, only then can we "finish winning the war."

In conclusion, let me reiterate what I have said above. The true cause of the unjustifiable demobilization protests was a lack of responsibility in the Army tragically symptomatic of blind indifference throughout the land. This diseased inertia must be eradicated; only by accepting the responsibilities of citizenship can we achieve genuine peace.

(Continued from page 625)

rest were to be discharged (based upon now proved false estimates as to re-enlistments and volunteers) misled the men. Compulsory military training bills have fallen through because Congress, the public, the Brass Hats, the President, failed to agree on a program. Voluntary enlistment has failed for reasons which will be discussed later and Selective Service furnishes too small a supply of new men for an adequate replacement pool. Whatever the reasons for this latter failure, the overseas soldier feels that his Congress, his people, his officers and the War Department have totally disregarded the fact that several hundred thousand soldiers have already completed a period of service, part in combat, twice as long as compulsory service would have forced on men untouched, as yet, by the war. Yet they are doomed to spend disheartening and unhappy months in jobs for which they are not suited, with little hope of relief. Meanwhile these men read columns in the newspapers side by side saying that Congress does not consider it necessary to demand 12 months' service of the voters' sons, that enlistments and Selective Service demands have fallen off, that discharges are slowing down and that an excess of shipping space can be expected during January because not enough men can be released from the service. No one can convince a man whose only duty is to stand a two-hour guard duty every second day that he is in any way essential.

When that man has served from one and one-half to two and one-half years with an average of one year, half in combat, overseas, he is not apt to favor the high-sounding explanations of his necessity given by Congress or his officers. So far no one has simply told him that he is there because a show of force is necessary. This, in spite of the intellectual high-minded terms that are usually used for explanation, is the real reason for occupation. A soldier may gripe, but he will accept such explanation and make the best of it.

The Army claims the need for occupation troops in both the European

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and Pacific theaters, in order to preserve the peace we have fought for and build for the future peace of the world. Along with such well-sounding statements go occupation troops. The American soldier or sailor has proved to be a magnificent fighting man, but under no condition has he proved to be of much help in nurturing a civilian population along the road to world peace. The Filipino native will remember the times the American sailor has hopped out of his boat without paying the fare and then run him down when he asked for payment. This has done little to teach American democracy to our Allies who could expect far better treatment. The Army, theoretically prepared for occupation, has bungled the job badly. Reports are just starting to drift back that the desire of the occupation troops for discharge has been the main cause of this. Occupation, after all, requires a certain type of training which combat troops, wanting only to go home, have not and have no wish to gain. The main reasons for the failure of the voluntary and re-enlistment programs have also made the troops even more anxious to get home and increasingly dissatisfied with their lot. The difference between the status of the officer and the enlisted man has caused the greatest dissatisfaction among those still unfortunate enough to be in the services and has discouraged those who otherwise might be tempted to re-enlist.

There are two solutions to this problem which could be attempted; either the basic pay of the enlisted personnel will have to be raised to a sufficiently high level so that they will not worry about the caste system of the services, or the system itself will have to be re-organized. The Army and the Navy will have to realize that discipline does not demand the degradation of enlisted personnel into a group of second-class servants. Under the present system, an enlisted man has no desire to re-enlist when his term is up or to teach democracy to anyone else while he himself is the victim of non-democratic ways, outmoded and unnecessary for years. Our military caste system is no foundation on which to try to build a democracy in conquered countries. Until the Army and the Navy realize this, both enlistment programs and occupation will fail miserably, with the enlistment and replacement failure causing more and more protests from the occupying troops.

DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

Still, the present systems have offered a means of release from the service. A fault appears in the very word "systems." Instead of one there are two. The Army came first, giving various forms of credit for length and type of service, dependents and for combat stars. Then came the Navy with no very clear idea of just what it would do except that it would be different from the Army. The Navy Department set up a system of credits arranged differently and with no points for combat stars. Immediately here was a point of difference that caused unpleasantness and disagreement. It is possible for a Navy veteran of two years' service, married and with no combat service to have been discharged by last December while his counterpart in the Army, with combat duty, still looks forward to several months of service.

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Herbrock in the Washington Post

"SNAFU!"

Another fundamental fault appears in the column head of a *New York Times* article of September 28, 1945. Entitled, "Navy is out to win demobilizing race," it goes on to say, according to Secretary Forrestal, that the Navy aims to be the first of the services to return to peacetime strength. Here it has become a race instead of a cooperative enterprise. Consequently, demobilization has built up a fund of ugly stories about half empty troop ship sailings and of troops waiting for transportation. The very men the Navy needed to keep a while longer were the first to leave under its program and those remaining found it difficult to leave because of lack of replacements.

Definitely there seems to have been a lack of over-all supervision. Once the point systems were set up and publicized and the Navy had thought up the title of "Magic Carpet" for its Pacific redeployment operations, those in charge more or less began to gird their loins for the Army-Navy merger fight and waited for the systems to work by themselves. Perhaps it is possible, in time of war, to tell enlisted men that military necessity prevents rotation or demands certain actions with no further explanation. In time of peace such statements are not received with good grace. Thus, on a Navy ship, it has become common for the members of the engine room force to stay two to four months beyond their time of eligibility for discharge to keep the ship running while other divisions on the same ship have been released a month ahead of time. The only reason vouchsafed is the old one of military necessity while the ship does nothing apparent the whole time but keep out of sight for months at a stretch. The American soldier or sailor is generally intelligent and becomes amazingly cooperative when given a reasonable explanation of "why". It is the unreasonable and unexplained that cause the gripes.

As can be imagined, the conflicting reports of discharge rates, shipping possibilities, enlistment rates and prospects in general, as discussed by each

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and every Congressman warming, in view of next November, to his constituents, by generals trying to crawl from under, by admirals afraid of poor public opinion in the coming merger fight, have (until the present statement by General Eisenhower) left the G.I. in the position of a prisoner serving an indefinite sentence. About once a month, some authoritative spokesman has given a new view or spoken ignorantly of the way the system has been working; Secretary Patterson affords an excellent example. As head of the War Department, he should be well-informed of the inner workings of demobilization, but as late as last December he had not learned that Army point totals had been frozen as of V-J Day. An example like the above does little to make a soldier awaiting discharge any more certain that his superiors have his interests at heart or that statements as to his military necessity are any more accurate than other information his superiors appear to possess.

A sad fact, with the failure of replacements to come up to expectations, is that the Army and Navy have already discharged many who have never served overseas, had insufficient point totals and were let out merely because they happened to be in this country. Instead of anticipating this and realizing that a revision of either pay or basic military re-organization was necessary to entice volunteers, these excess troops were released and the men overseas were left to hold the empty sack without replacement.

Lately, competent officials, of whom there seem to be so few, have been making statements that the slowing down of demobilization has been caused by this very lack of replacements. Until the Services realize the need for re-organization to something that modern youth will take to, recognize the elemental rights of enlisted men to a decent life or sufficient pay to make them forget living conditions, enlistment will fail. Nothing can take away the fact that enlistment still brings with it a condition of subservient service for which there is no longer any excuse. Had General Eisenhower explained the position of the Army several months ago, much criticism could have been avoided, but nothing has been done as yet to rectify the reasons for the failure of the enlistment program. It is again, as with the General's speech, a question of too late.

DOCUMENTARY NOTES

Below are the high points of General Eisenhower's statement on demobilization before a special meeting of Congressmen on January 15, 1946:

I have come here this morning because a very human desire to get soldiers home in a hurry has clashed with the Army's manpower needs to do the job which has been assigned to us by the government. . . .

Primarily, two underlying causes are responsible for the present confusion. . . . The first is that the nation's release from the urgency of war started an emotional wave to get men out of the Army. This is wholly understandable. . . . But I am frank to say that I had never anticipated this emotional wave would reach proportions of near-hysteria. . . .

The second cause of our present discontent rises, I believe, from the

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almost incredible speed with which the War Department moved in bringing men home from V-J Day to the close of the year.

Including discharged men and women who were already in this country, more than 5,000,000 members of our V-E Day Army, 80 per cent of them veterans of foreign service, have now returned to civilian life. . . . 1,665,000 men and women who had no expectations, in September, of coming home so soon, were already united with their families by the close of the year. That is the extent to which the War Department has exceeded any so-called commitment to the men.

The very stepping up of these returning shipments undoubtedly helped to create confusion among service men and their families. . . .

In the face of this unprecedented performance, criticisms based largely on individual cases were deliberately confusing matters further. The presence of a high-point man still in service at some one station, because of some special need at that station, came to be interpreted, loudly, as a failure of the entire demobilization program.

We must admit that there have been irregularities caused by the immensity of the problem, by the fact that the Army has been spread all over the world and that we could not have a perfectly uniform application of the point score system Discovery of the fact that a man had been released as surplus with fewer than the critical number of points raised cries of injustice. . . .

But in this spectacular success of demobilization between V-J Day and the first of the year, the Army was rapidly approaching the foreseen juncture of two incompatibles: the speed of demobilization and our duties at home and overseas—the occupation mission delegated to us by higher authority and the protection and disposal of millions of tons of government property throughout the world representing billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money. . . .

If we were to continue shipping men home at the rate we reached during the past few months, about April we would have nothing left but a woefully inadequate number of volunteers—we would literally have "run out of Army." That is the reason for the slow-down. There is no change in policy —there is no change in plan. We have merely reached a point in the pursuance of our plans and policies which we knew we must face when the time came. That time is now.

We took all possible steps to meet inescapable needs without slowing the pace of demobilization. We pressed the recruiting campaign to the utmost in order to bring volunteers into the Army who could take the place of those overseas. We urged that positive steps be taken to provide us our full quotas of 50,000 men monthly through the Selective Service system. . . . The training of recruits in this country was recently cut from 17 to 13 weeks so that these men would be available sooner for overseas. We have taken every measure we could think of, and by no means of mathematics or slide rule magic is it possible to make the flow of available replacements equal all the men we should like to bring home now but who must be replaced if we are to do our job.

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Now, understand this—the men who do not need replacement when their jobs are finished will come home immediately. . . . But if we are not to disintegrate our occupation forces certain men must be kept until trained replacements are available or their job finished. . . .

So far as essential jobs in the theatre are concerned, the recruits become available, not when they enlist, but only when they arrive overseas, trained to take over their assignments. If an 18-year-old enlists or is inducted through selective service in this country, he goes off to camp for three months to learn the rudiments of being a soldier If a trained man already in the Army chooses to volunteer for regular enlistment, he is entitled to a furlough in the United States which will make him useless as a replacement until he returns. Any way you work it, there is bound to be a lag of three or six months in this replacement business. . . .

I must remind you that we are operating in an enemy country where the most constant surveillance must be maintained over the civilian population to make certain that no elements are allowed to develop organized opposition. In addition to this, serious crime, minor thievery and pilferage are a constant concern of our military police. . . .

Discipline in this respect has a wider significance than the simple protection of the lives of American soldiers and of government stores. Our example in maintaining law and order throughout the conquered countries will have the most far-reaching effect in hastening the pacification of the German people. If, through curtailment of manpower, lawlessness and contempt for the American brand of justice should be permitted to develop, it would not only hurt our progress in Germany, but would weaken our prestige throughout Europe. Our commanders and forces would be in an impossible position.

In addition to these operations, recruits from this country, who have already had their basic training as soldiers, must be further trained in occupational duties after arrival. . . .

Of considerable importance is the disposal of United States property remaining in the theatre, as well as the storage and destruction of captured enemy material. The size of this latter part of the task is indicated by the fact that 100 depots and dumps are in operation for storage of material captured from the enemy. . .

At the present time United States property valued at more than $7,000,000,000 is being stored, guarded and maintained by troops in the European theatre. . . . Regardless of whether this property is stored for the use of our occupational forces, returned to the United States for current and future needs of the Army, in process of being declared surplus, or already declared surplus but not disposed of by the disposal agencies, the Army has the complete responsibility for care, maintenance, protection, delivery and fiscal accounting for such property. These responsibilities also apply to captured enemy property. . . .

Another of our duties is the guarding, screening, supervision, administration and eventual release of enemy personnel held by United States forces. . . . The care of displaced persons has been an enormous problem from the

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time of our entry into Germany. . . . We are now operating 365 installations for these tragic victims of Nazi brutality. . . . At the present time some 50,000 of our men are directly concerned in control and direction of prisoners of war and displaced persons. By July 1, 1946, their number will have been reduced by half—to 25,000.

Some 111,000 service troops are now assigned to the European theatre to take care of the needs of the occupation forces and troops engaged in winding up our surplus property installations. . . . By July, 1946, General McNarney expects to have cut this total to 61,000. . . .

There is a job to be finished. Although our Allies are carrying a heavy load, Americans have assumed the definite commitment and the responsibility of carrying out their own share. To the Army has been delegated the principal job in performing this work. The work cannot be done without men. Remember, this is your Army—not the War Department's and not the generals' Army.

It belongs to the country—to the Congress and the people.

It carries out their wishes and their orders. . . .

The property-disposal problem is a definite part of this nation's mission in the Pacific. It is my responsibility, it is the soldier's responsibility out there—in the end, it is your responsibility, as members of the Congress, to the American people. Except where necessary for health, safety or security, we do not have the authority to abandon this property; it must be taken off our hands by properly constituted civil authority. . . .

As a result of the war the Philippines were left without an effective police force. Now armed bands of guerrillas roam the hills, bent on pilferage which only our active presence controls. We are now engaged in recruiting a force of 50,000 Filipinos to replace a comparable number of our men in the Philippines and elsewhere in the Pacific, but it will be many months before this force becomes effective enough to accept the responsibility of policing the islands. It is our clear obligation to assist until that time arrives. . . .

Of the 2,000,000 men of the ground, air and service forces in this country, nearly 1,000,000 are operating personnel administering our posts, camps, stations, ports—generally engaged in housekeeping and supply activities, and caring for the sick and wounded. For example, 100,000 of these alone are . . . operating the separation centers. . . . Another 50,000 are guarding prisoners. . . . Finally, some 50 000 others are at ports and staging areas taking care of the flow of personnel in and out of the country. . . .

There is no economy in sending a man overseas if he is so close to eligibility for discharge that we should have to turn right around and send him back. Nor is there any sound reason for keeping him in the Army if we no longer have a job for him here. So we discharge him. I realize that it is a source of irritation to veterans overseas to have a man discharged in this country with fewer points than the veteran over there. From this angle, it is rank injustice. But from the point of view of the country, the only realistic and practical decision is to let him out. We can't make an omelet the size of this demobilization job without breaking a few eggs. . . .

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Are we "losing the peace" in Japan?

Japanese Journey

By Mark Gayn

From The Chicago Sun feature page

THIS is a report on a quiet mid-winter journey into the heart of rural Japan spreading northward of Tokyo. It is also a report on how the old-time Japan, which we thought we had beaten, is winning its fight for survival.

More than six months have passed since we began our well-publicized task of remolding Japan into a new and jubilantly democratic nation. My travel diary tells me that our record of accomplishment is to a large degree a sheaf of fine—and well ignored—directives

In the course of my trip, I stayed in only two cities, Sendai on the east coast and Akita on the west. The rest of the time, by design, I spent in snowbound, shivering towns and villages which are the mainstay of conservative Japan.

But the detail must wait; it is without value unless it yields a pattern, a set of conclusions, perhaps a lesson, for three of these board conclusions.

1. The birth of democracy in Japan is a synthetic process. The country still is governed by the old gang which cannily and firmly is holding to power. There is nothing in sight now within Japan herself to challenge seriously this hold or offer any promise to the common man.

2. Ours is a dream world filled with Allied directives and Japanese vows of loyalty to democratic concepts. The directives were honored mainly in their breach.

3. We have surrendered voluntarily our power to enforce these directives. We also have given old Japan every possible indication that our stay here won't be long.

All three conclusions can be reduced to this common denominator: we are attempting to hammer Japan into a new shape with a thick wad of fine directives. But in advance we have nullified their effect by depriving our commanders in the field of the capacity for firm and immediate enforcement and by allowing our local garrisons to be thinned out until they have become garrisons on paper only.

This correspondent stayed in succession in key, if small, towns, in which the removal of four or five men was a major loss for the young officers in charge. Raids which would tax the energy of a squad, if they were to be effective, were carried out by a single officer or sergeant.

For reasons which well may stand a searching probe we never have allowed the personnel of the U.S. military government trained for the exacting tasks of occupation, to exercise its authority.

And we have come to the point where officers, anxious to see that

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we won't lose in peace what we thought we won in war, are compelled to violate regulations to perform their job. It is worth noting that the best results in the provinces are achieved by men who consistently and openly exceed their authority.

How did all this come to pass? The answer lies both in our blunders and in the tremendous vitality of that old Japan which we said we would destroy for the sake of future peace.

Our biggest blunder was our failure—or conscious refusal—to understand the nature of the enemy. We seem to be preceeding on the assumption that Japan's aggression was the child of sworded men alone and not of a flock of parents, the lustiest of whom was the Zaibatsu—or family supertrusts.

We also seem to scorn the fact that the team which regimented and ran Japan included the entire governing apparatus, from the emperor himself down to the shabby principals of village schools and the local political bosses.

It was a finely meshed and sturdy fabric—this apparatus which ruled Japan. It survived the loss of the army and of the dreaded Kempeitai, the military police. It will continue to survive and to strangle democracy as long as all its other components, especially the Zaibatsu, remain virtually intact.

What we appear to be trying to do is to impose a democratic structure atop the rotten foundation of old Japan. We have issued good blueprints for a new structure—directives on schools and Shintoism and free speech—and then we have proceeded to wonder why the building refused to stand up.

We also have committed another error. To keep our army housed comfortably and serviced well, we have proceeded to deal with those Japanese who could meet our needs promptly and fully. Up to now these invariably have been the governors and chiefs of police, both appointed by the Home Ministry, that sturdy bulwark of the Japanese police-state.

Those we have come to rely upon —and through whom we have passed our orders down to the people —are the same men who governed the old Japan. One of the best United States officers in the field told me, "My chief of police is a Fascist——, but I certainly can depend on him to get for me all that I need."

We have had an opportunity to wreck the entire foundation of feudal Japan and to build upon its wreckage a new and truly democratic nation. This opportunity is receding with each passing day and with each G.I. departing for home.

And with each day the forces of old Japan are regaining heart and learning the tactics of circumventing directives and placating the victor with a minimum of concessions.

The fact is that old Japan is "sweating out" our occupation. In three or five or 10 years we shall leave these shores, and then the whole cabal which ran Japan until last September—the police chiefs and the landlords, the family trusts and the ultranationalists . . . . still talking happily of the Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere—will resume open control of their unhappy land.

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The inflation market looks ominious

'29 Again?

By Sylvia F. Porter

From her column in the New York Post

THE smart boys aren't buying stocks these days. If they're doing anything, they're taking profits—gorgeous 100 per cent and 300 per cent and 500 per cent profits. The little fellows, though, are buying. In fact, it's their gambling that's responsible for the big boys' sensational profits.

Perhaps my conservatism is befuddling my judgment and my memory of history is a disadvantage.

But I've never seen a market in which everybody, from the complete amateur to the hard-working expert, made money indefinitely.

Perhaps this isn't "another 1929" but it's only "another 1927" or "1928" and the merry-go-round is just starting to whirl.

But I fail to understand how purchase of a stock at an already inflated value is a hedge against inflated values.

Perhaps the only man who doesn't bother analyzing values but who simply buys blind will come out on top of this market.

But I've never known blind luck to protect thousands of such innocents for any length of time.

This is just my way of reporting that during five hours recently, trading on the New York Stock Exchange alone totaled almost 3,500,000 shares, the largest volume in nearly six years.

Stock prices skyrocketed $1 to $6 a share and some special issues went up even more in that one session.

And on a average, the level of the market reached the highest point since 1931, or in 15 years.

The reason this time? Why obviously expectations arising out of the Ford-Chrysler wage settlements and the belief that these will set the pattern for other strike agreements.

Wage and prices are unquestionably in an inflationary spiral.

Unions strike—and the market booms because higher wages are at stake and higher wages must lead to higher prices.

Unions and corporations settle and the men get their higher wages —and the market booms because the event anticipated has become fact.

It's an inflation market, pure and simple.

It has been an inflation market since 1942, when the shrewd investors figured that what's happening would happen and bet their money on it.

But at what level will stock prices generally have "discounted" the degree of inflation in the U. S.?

At what prices will stocks be "expensive" even on the basis that America wouldn't handle the economic problems of transition and was forced to give way to inflation pressures?

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Will that level come when we finally swing into high production and people can use their idle cash to buy goods instead of pieces of paper?

Will it come when that production places sufficient goods on the counters to bring supply and demand into balance and to stabilize wages and prices?

Will the time-honored Wall Street rule about "selling on good news" apply during this topsy- turvy era or is that one out-moded?

These are the key questions, of course, and I'm asking, not answering them. And since I earn a living working on a newspaper instead of gambling in stocks, I feel no compulsion to find the answer before the next fellow.

But when a broker told me early this morning that the majority of his customers yesterday were in the $800 to $3,500 class, I said a silent thank-you to the Federal Reserve Board for demanding that they pay 100 per cent cash for their securities.

At least, when and if they try to sell in a declining market, they'll get back some cash. And they'll not be forced to sell unless they really need the money.

Speculators are inviting a curb they don't want and Congress now doesn't want to impose—and that's a boost in the capital gains tax rate or a lengthening in the capital gains tax holding period or both.

One of the stimulants to speculation in securities is that today the maximum tax on profits from securities held longer than six months is 25 per cent.

Naturally, if the 25 per cent rate is increased, stock speculation will become less attractive.

And naturally, if the holding period is lengthened to, say 12 months or 18 months, the inclination to trade in and out of the market will be discouraged.

Federal Reserve Board chairman Eccles has long urged tightening of the capital gains tax law but he has been shouted down by opponents in and out of Congress.

If this market continues in its present mood even Congress won't be able to ignore the dangers.

ME, TOO

• The domestic trials and tribulations of married veterans attending Dartmouth college have at last invaded the classroom.

One of the housekeeping students approached his professor and asked: "Sir, can I be excused from class for a few minutes? I've just heard that they have butter down the street."

Permission was granted.

Laughingly, the professor related the incident to a colleague, who instantly demanded: "How long ago did they have that butter?"

• Berkeley, California, had its string of accidents the other week. It all started when Arlon Tussig, 12, was hit by an automobile, suffering cuts and bruises. The driver, Harold Wallace, ran to get help and tumbled into a fish pond, dislocating a finger. Mrs. Wallace, rushing to the hospital with dry clothes for her husband, skidded off a bus stop and fractured an ankle.

• Two can live more cheaply than one wants to.

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Control of Our Pacific Bases

Should we entrust our Pacific bases to the United Nations Organization or retain exclusive control of them for national defense?

TRUSTEESHIP

The United States cannot exercise a moral leadership in the United Nations until the administration has made clear its policy on trusteeship over the Pacific islands that we captured from Japan. This is, indeed, the acid test of our sense of cooperation.

A signatory of the United Nations Charter and as a nation that played a prominent role in the drawing up of the trusteeship sections of that Charter, we cannot allow any doubts to remain regarding our position. The President indicated that while we would keep the islands we deem of strategic importance in the defense of the United States, we would work out a trusteeship arrangement with the Security Council. Islands of non-strategic importance now held by us would be placed under the Trusteeship Council which is responsible to the Assembly.

The American delegation at London is seeking a declaration from the General Assembly of colonial powers' obligation to work toward a self-government for all non-self-governing areas, such as Indonesia, Indo-China and Malaya. At present the Charter makes it possible for colonial powers to accept trusteeship for their colonies; it is not obligatory. But any influence we might otherwise exert to carry through such a program would be destroyed if, with respect to areas we deem of strategic concern, we insist on outright and unrestricted ownership. We cannot have it both ways. We cannot be apostles of freedom and pursue a course of what from San Francisco *The Post* called "security imperialism."

The strategic areas should be made a matter of arrangement among the policing powers through the Security Council and with its continuing supervision. Standards ought to be set up, and regional bodies like the Anglo-American commission created, which would be of service to dependent peoples everywhere.

—The Washington Post

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FIRM UNITED STATES POLICY NEEDED ON BASES

President Truman's informal declaration on United States' retention of bases in the Pacific formerly held by the Japanese should be translated without delay into firm, unmistakable American policy.

That policy should declare for United States control, unlimited and unrestricted by any other nation or group of nations, of every island taken from the Japanese that we need for security and defense.

It is in the State Department that greatest support has come for establishment of international trusteeship over the formerly Japanese-held isles, somewhat in the manner that the old League of Nations farmed out mandated territories after the first World War.

Sponsors of this plan insist that United States' interest would be safeguarded by having this nation made trustee. They point out, also, that the Carolines, Marshalls and Marianas were never Japanese-owned, but were mandated by the League of Nations, and that transfer of occupation should be made by the successor body, the United Nations Organization.

The trusteeship arrangement is disliked by many Army and Navy officials who fear that it will end with the United States hamstrung in its military use of essential bases. They want outright, plain and unadorned annexation.

President Truman's favored plan calls for the United Nations Organization to place all the islands we want under sole United States trusteeship, with former Japanese possessions that we are not interested in making bases operated under a United Nations Organization collective trusteeship.

We should annunciate in plain language a policy, dictated by national security, that makes sure that the needed bases shall be controlled by the United States and no one else.

—*The Philadelphia Inquirer*

BASES AND BOMBS

Policy is being laid down on the control of naval bases by the United States in the Pacific before the relationship of such bases to the shape of future warfare has been studied. The need of bases as essential to the life and efficiency of a navy is deeply ingrained in naval thinking. The decision of the United States

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to take over the Philippines stemmed from the thinking of Admiral Mahan, who understood clearly under the circumstances of his time the importance of bases.

But conditions of war have been so drastically and radically changed and upset by the atomic bomb, the rocket bomb and the distance-consuming warplane, that the question can very properly be raised if there is not need for revised thinking on bases.

Are not our naval leaders thinking in terms of conventional naval warfare and strategy when they aggressively push for the retention of bases? Have they studied the relationship of naval bases to the atomic bomb and the kind of warfare that bomb predicates for the future? Have they related bases to the strategy that was devised during the last war by our navy in the Pacific, with the startling part played by carriers and with the successful strategy of by-passing Japanese-held strongholds that seemed so formidable? Are they relating these bases to American foreign policy in its global aspects?

We raise these questions because the scientific laboratories have raised the very deuce with the conventional pattern of warfare. As Dr. Vannevar Bush has said, the scientific laboratories have changed, if not junked, the conventional pattern of warfare.

—*The Providence Evening Bulletin*

TRUSTEESHIP ABROAD

President Roosevelt announced his plan for postwar control of the Pacific and other islands. The plan was what he called a trusteeship, by which he meant that no one country should acquire, through war, absolute ownership of additional territory.

This proposal met with instant objection. The Senate even sent a special committee to San Francisco to build a fire under our delegates to the Conference to make it perfectly clear that they should not sign away rights that we clearly had won. President Truman has cleared the view of our government. We will keep exclusive control of anything we think we need; and what we are not interested in will, without protest, be allowed to go under United Nations Organization trusteeship.

The country in general will approve retention by us of every island in the Pacific which the Navy and the Army declare essential to national security. We can even argue that we are taking steps in prevention of war.

Trusteeship is acceptable only for unimportant bits of territory that nobody especially wants. Hence the doctrine is out before it has been argued. Theoretically, the proper thing is to have only United Nations bases if there are to be bases at all in the Pacific and elsewhere. We are not ready for that. The world

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is not ready for it. It can come only gradually as a part of a new internationalism. But just now the war is too fresh in memory for us to give up to a super-nation bases which we have won the hard way and believe are essential to American safety.

—*Portland Press Herald*

THE PACIFIC BASES

It is far from an academic question whether the United States should annex Pacific bases taken from Japan or should become United Nations trustee for them.

If we annex them, we violate our own pledges against territorial aggrandizement; we vastly weaken our potential leadership in favor of trusteeship to emancipate populous lands held by other colonial overlords; we freeze the status of the islands before their proper future can be forecast; we undercut the work of the United Nations for collective security; and we increase Russia's belief that we desire springboards against her.

Under trusteeship, we would be designated the trustee, no doubt, of as many islands as we wished. That would answer any *bona fide* need of national defense. Ultimately, when the United Nations is accorded the power and authority it should have, some or all of the islands might be administered directly by it.

Jingoes of the Navy and War departments want to make the islands safe for nationalist militarism, permanently. America cannot afford to do so. It should back the State Department in urging trusteeship.

—*Chicago Sun*

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

One of our clearly stated purposes in the course of the war was to establish our power so strongly in the Pacific that Japan never again could challenge it. It is unthinkable that we would give up any islands won at high cost by American arms so long as we felt they were of use to us in keeping the peace in the Pacific.

It is conceded, however, that the language of the United Nations Charter adopted at San Francisco apparently gives the Security Council of the United Nations Organization the right to pass on questions of trusteeships in "strategic areas," and any member of this counsel the right to exercise a veto power.

Of course, the right we claim for ourselves we may be asked to extend to others. Russia and Britain have their "strategic areas," in which they will demand sole authority to establish bases in their defensive interests. But these will be relatively few. Islands such as those in which we claim a special interest ought not to conflict with other members of the Big Five. We may expect them to see our point of view and act accordingly.

—Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*

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A reporter tries to "go Hollywood"

Promotion on Kendall

By Richard G. Kendall

From his column "Journal of a Journeyman" in the Portland Press Herald

WHEN I tire of reading Bushido on economics or Mukluk on the art forms of the lesser Pemmicans, I pick up some of the works of the Hollywood flacks or press representatives. These persons work entirely on a basis of "Gee Whiz," for they are paid by the studios to write lurid descriptions of the muggers on the payroll.

I won't set the gent back 10 years by mentioning his name, but, in a pamphlet released by one of the film firms, an actor is described in this vein: "He has been a newsreel cameraman covering Europe, a guide at the Louvre, a supernumerary in the Paris Opera. He is an authority on Alpine climbing and a collector of over a thousand records of chamber music. He is a prodigious linguist, speaking five languages. The 'love that man' response from thousands of female fans is indeed understandable. He's quite a fella! He's big—and strikingly handsome. He's suavely sophisticated—and real. He's charming—and intelligent."

I put down the pamphlet and got in touch with our promotion department. "It's about time we beat the drum for some of our own guys," I said. "Now let's get out a few pamphlets on some of our seals."

"Okay," said Promotion. "Who'll we blow up first?"

"Let's give Kendall a little ride. Nice boy. Homebody, likes to cook for the kids. Help with the dishes. Hang out the wash . . ."

"No good," said Promotion. "Here's an angle. We'll make the guy glamorous, see? Mention that he bummed around the world. Guide at Joe's American Bar in Paris. Chorus man in *One Touch of Venus*. Mention that he speaks three or four languages, English, Kennebec Indian, and two dialects suitable for smokers and stag suppers."

"I've heard of glamorouser guys," I said.

"Take it easy. I'm just throwing a few warmup pitches. We'll say our guy is big—when he gets into a suit, why 10 minutes later it's a sack suit. We'll say he's intelligent—comes in out of the rain without being told. We'll say he's a prodigious reader—the intellectual angle—say he knows the Racing Form from starting times to jockey weights.

"We'll say he's an authority on pub crawling and growler rushing. And how about throwing in a little suave sophistication? Okay . . . We'll say the guy can enter a room without falling on his face."

"Doesn't sound just right to me," I said.

"Who knows promotion better

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than me? We'll say our guy's appeal to the girls of the female sex is terrific. Fan mail . . . why, we'll say he gets more letters per month than the complaint department of the O.P.A."

"That part would be true, but they are bills, not fan letters."

"Skip it. I write this stuff by ear. When shall I begin?"

"Never mind, Promotion," I said. "Let's let Kendall attack the Better-Mousetrap Problem and create his own following."

"Well, that's up to the mice," said Promotion, and hung up.

Re-adjustment comes harder for the civilian

The Civilian Problem

By Henry McLemore

From his column in The Philadelphia Inquirer

IT is now a pretty well-known fact that all the tens of thousands of words, written and spoken, advising the returned soldier on how to adjust himself to civilian life, were as needless as a dentist on a poultry farm. All that the words, written and spoken, accomplished was to occupy the time and add to the bankroll of those civilians who wrote and spoke said words.

The soldier was so glad to get back to civilian life that he didn't need much counsel. Off with the khaki or blue, and on with the pin stripe and on with the powder gray, was his motto. Give him a roof that didn't leak, water that was hot or cold as he dictated, food off a table, the presence of those he loved, no necessity to salute, say "sir," or duck a bullet, and he said, "If this is adjustment, let me have it until I die. Let me have adjustment as long as there is any felt."

What really was needed, and still is needed, is tens of thousands of words, written or spoken, by soldiers advising businessmen on how to adjust themselves against that day when "normalcy" returns.

If I had the time, the energy, and a small printing press, I would give such publishing firms as Harper Bros., Simon and Schuster, Macmillan, a run for their money by announcing for publication books with such titles as:

1. Dry Cleaner, What Are You Going To Do When Things Get Normal?

2. Garageman, Watch Your Step, You Snooty Rascal You.

3. How To Be A Happy Contractor With No House To Build.

4. Ten Simple Ways In Which A Plumber Can Shoot Himself In Unwanted Bathroom Equipment.

5. How To Be A Cheerful Railroad Conductor When There Is No One To Slip You Ten Bucks For A Black Market Berth.

6. How To Act Like A Butcher Again After Five Years Of Playing Napoleon With An Apron And Cleaver.

7. How The Landlord May Be Full Of Poise And Nonchalance

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When No One Wants A Single Darn Apartment He Has In The Building.

Yes, there is a great need for such handbooks. I knew that when I took a suit to the dry cleaners. It was a shop where once they advertised curb service. You could sit and wait a few minutes and get your suit pressed. But no more. The place now has a bouncer, like a night club. Let someone get unruly, and he is thrown out.

The place has a captain, and you are supposed to call for appointments. By using a little pull—a friend of mine once lent the owner of the joint fifty cents to play a slot machine—I got extra service.

The garages are even more exclusive. I took my ancient machine down to get its points adjusted. After half an hour of waiting, a very bored gentleman said, "Yes, and what do you want?" When I told him he said, "I really don't think we can do that, but if you want to take a chance just drive the hack over in the corner and come back later."

"How much later?" I said.

"Oh, any day you have free in June," he said.

"That soon?" I replied.

But he was gone. And just as he was gone, days like these will be gone. Ah sweet tomorrow! I am practicing my frowns and snarls.

• A hopeful applicant was applying for a job. Asked his prospective employer: "Are you trust-worthy and responsible?"

"Well," said the applicant, scratching his head, "in the last place where I worked, whenever anything happened, I was responsible."

• Pat and Mike had just arrived from South Ireland, and they were not acquainted with our traffic signals. They were waiting at an intersection when the light turned from red to orange. Everyone but these two rushed across the street.

The orange light, of course, quickly turned green, and as the Irishmen started across, Pat observed to his partner, "Shure, an' they don't give the Protestants much time t' git across, do they?"

—*Novena Notes*

• In English III a fat student was a complete failure, "I declare, young man," complained the professor, "your body seems to be far better nourished than your mind."

"That's easy to understand, sir," the fat boy replied, a malicious glint in his eye. "You feed my mind, professor, but I feed my body!"

—*Wall Street Journal*

AIN'T LOVE GRAND

• The high cost of loving finally became too much for a Los Angeles man. In a divorce suit he charged that his wife's kisses cost him $5 each. The little woman confirmed this statement of over-charging: "I did it to discourage him. He was always buzzing and pecking around. It was annoying. If he didn't have $5 with him, I'd take what he had on account."

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The little man who wasn't there is in again

"And the Night Shall Be Filled . . ."

By Don Rose

From his column "Stuff and Nonsense" in The Evening Bulletin

NOW that the season is well past for singing about "silent night," it may be permissible to point out that it isn't. Night is not loudly noisy, but the smaller sounds of the night can be deafening. That is why there are circles under my eyes.

"The night shall be filled with music," said Longfellow. But it isn't music. It's a medley of mysterious noises, most of them insisting that a man get out of bed and discover what they are. Longfellow had another line, telling how he "heard the trailing of garments of the night sweep through her marble halls." Very poetic stuff, but did he ever hear cautious footsteps creeping up the stairs at 3:30 in the morning and go forth to find nobody there?

At 3:30 in the morning human courage is probably at its lowest ebb, but never shall it be said that I failed to protect sleeping women and children from prowlers by night. I did wish for something handy in the way of weapons. A hand grenade would do, or a sawed-off shotgun.

I'd march boldly out into the hall, armed with nothing and wearing not much more. The house is black as the pit and there's nobody in the hall, nobody on the stairs, nobody anywhere. I lock all the doors so that nobody can get in. Comes the thought that if anybody is in already, I've locked him in. That's a cheerful thought to go back to sleep on. I'm not going to sleep. Nobody could sleep in this uproar.

The electric clock in the living room is thumping like a frightened heart. A spigot is leaking somewhere and it sounds like a steam hammer driving piles for a subway. What's that? Somebody turned over in bed upstairs and it sounded as though the roof were falling in.

The thing to do is to keep calm. All these are normal noises, easily explained by a few moment's reflection. That dull thud outside wasn't a dead body falling off the porch, but a broken branch dropping from the maple tree. Give me time and I'll figure out that faint gasping, like an old-fashioned gas engine. It might, for instance, be somebody dying horribly in the woods beyond the garden.

"Most glorious night, thou wert not sent for slumber!" said Byron, and I think he's got something. I'll give up and take a nap in the afternoon, when everything is quiet.

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A plebiscite may oust Franco

Stirrings in Spain

By Victor Serge

From his column in The New Leader

SINCE the meeting of the Spanish Cortes in Mexico in November, there have been several new developments with regard to the problems with which it dealt. News from Spain indicates increased activity of the underground movement. At Barcelona *Solidaridad Obrera,* the organization of the syndicalists, held a conference in which resolutions were passed condemning the maneuvers of the Communists and supporting the Government-in-exile of José Giral. In Spain there have been violent encounters between members of the National Federation of Labor (C.N.T.) and the Communists.

Of special interest is the fact that the Falangists have become so much alarmed that they have entered into negotiations with the underground. High ranking officers (among them a general who became famous during the civil war) have been holding conferences with representatives of the republican workers. The military leaders are planning for a transition government and are trying to obtain pledges that there will be no uprising of the people. The chief concern in government circles is to provide for the escape from Spain of some 15,000 Fascists who have reason to fear the popular wrath. This effort is sufficient to prove the weakness of the government established with the support of Mussolini and Hitler.

An active young leader of the C. N.T. has lately come from Spain and joined the Giral Cabinet. This man, José Leyva, after having been condemned to death, passed four years in Franco prisons. Now he has been officially commissioned by the National Alliance of Democratic Forces to represent them in the new government. Since he left Spain in September, his account of conditions is up-to-date and authentic.

Here is the picture presented by José Leyva. He estimates that there are still 70,000 prisoners in Spanish jails; 7,000 of these are in Madrid: 380,000 republicans live under close police surveillance. Thousands of partisans are hidden in the mountains. They are well-organized but lack the arms which would make them an efficient fighting force.

The National Alliance of Democratic Forces includes the two great labor federations, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., the Socialist party, the two republican parties and the two Catalan liberal republican groups. It contains enough trade unions, political and national minority groups to assure control of the national life during a transitional period. "The Spanish Communist party," said José Leyva, "and the phantom Supreme Junta, of which we had never

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heard in Madrid, carry on their activities outside the union of democratic forces." German capital and German agents continue to carry on camouflaged activity on the peninsula, but the underground is well-informed with regard to it and was able to give exact information to the Allied powers up to the end of the war.

At the meeting of the Cortes on November 8, Indalecio Prieto, speaking for the Socialist party, raised the question of the plebiscite which has been so widely debated in republican circles. I heard Prieto's address on December 7, and I talked with him about this subject privately. In his opinion the main point to be borne in mind is to get rid of Franco without inflicting upon the Spanish people the horrors of an insurrection. Spain is ripe for a definitely democratic revolution, but the people are sufficiently intelligent politically to achieve it without fighting behind barricades, with all the horrors of civil war.

The Falangists are probably the only ones who have anything to gain from the shedding of blood. They fear the just wrath of the people, who are against them almost unanimously. Even the old Catholic forces are anti-Falange, and many of them are moving tardily toward the formation of a Democratic Christian party. But the reactionary Falange leaders have a hope that if the monarchist intrigues on the one side or communist intrigues on the other lead to outbreaks of violence they will benefit from the confusion and so be able to survive.

For some time leading Spanish republicans have been considering with South American statesmen the possibility of ushering in a republic by means of a plebiscite. Eduardo Santos, ex-President of Colombia, favors this solution. Grau San-Martin, President of Cuba, has taken the initiative in proposing this step to all the countries of Latin America. The democratic republics of South America—to the exclusion of the others—offer their assistance in bringing about a free and honest plebiscite under international supervision.

Members of the Giral Cabinet fear lest the plebiscite "appear to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the Government in Exile." The Socialist party replies to them that legitimacy is a fact and that the effort to verify that fact cannot place it under suspicion.

The Negrin-del-Vayo-Galarzo-communist coalition is making itself odious to the majority of Spanish refugees by using polemical methods which must bring blushes to the cheeks of any decent Spaniard. Negrin, speaking recently in Mexico, compared Prieto to Pierre Laval! The communist press accuses the Socialist leader and, indirectly, President Grau San-Martin of a desire to capitulate before the monarchy! The attacks against the universally respected President of the Council, José Giral, are so dirty that I prefer not to cite them in detail. It is easy to understand why the Communists object to an open plebiscite in a country in which they never had many followers. The extremes to which they have gone in combatting the idea seems to indicate that they are desperate.

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

INFORMATION, both true and false, has proved a mighty weapon in war, and *Unwritten Treaty,* by James P. Warburg, (Harcourt, Brace, $2.00), devotes serious thought to both forms, but in particular stresses the value educational information could be in world-wide dissemination for the purpose of keeping peace.

Like Roosevelt, Warburg believes that the first of the four freedoms is freedom of information; it is also an essential for mutual understanding. He cites our shortcomings in competent diplomatic representation between the two wars; with the start of World War II, the O.W.I. took over the information job, he thinks more or less effectively, although he cites examples of timidity or ineptitude in high places at times. This job of government-dispensed information must be continued, in his opinion, because it is too vast for private enterprise.

It is natural for him to devote a large part of his book to relating the operations of the O.W.I. in the war; he was for a time its Deputy Director. One would not expect him to be too critical of it; he knows its purpose, and he knows the good work it did. Any faults, aside from criticism of the policy-makers, are glossed over.

The tremendous influence of propaganda by Germany and Japan, and by the Soviet and Great Britain, is too well known to need repetition, although Warburg drives the point home to show our need for similar activity.

He recognizes three types of warfare: military, economic and psychological. It is a corollary that if there is to be lasting peace, all three branches must be outlawed. There should be no quarrel with that, nor with the accepted theory that most wars have economic bases. This entails that prosperity must be world-wide. It is with the future that Warburg is concerned, and he offers four points for consideration, three of them international agreements, and one an internal question. The three agreements requiring world acceptance are: the free flow of information, leading to mutual understanding; outlawing of psychological warfare; definition of the type of peace-time propaganda. The advocacy of a Department of Information, with its own cabinet head, is the question for domestic thought.

He endeavors to answer possible objections to his program by explaining what powers such a department would have. For instance, it would not be permitted any domestic propaganda, which would keep it out of internal politics. It would not supplant private press services, but would utilize them and also serve them on foreign matters.

It is easy to agree that free channels of information would lead to better understanding, and that alien propaganda which tends to disrupt

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the internal affairs of a country should be prohibited. It is more difficult to acquiesce in the establishment of a new governmental agency with the powers he would like to give it. "Hand-outs" of information, whether by private or official sources, are detrimental to public policy, and a danger to liberty. The value of an official information source of this kind would be largely determined by the men in charge of it. Warburg's own experiences as related make it seem doubtful that politics, at least in appointments, would play no part. There is the further objection of many to continued enlargement of federal powers over the destinies of the public. The suggestions he makes for international agreements are worthy of consideration; they seem sound and sane, but in the present state of humanity possibly too idealistic, even for our own nation.

BRIEFER COMMENT

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. is a Negro minister, an elected Congressman, and a firm believer in non-appeasement in his battle for equality for the negro. *Marching Blacks,* (Dial Press, $2.50), gives his convictions and aspirations for his people, and makes no bones about his opinions on the reasons for racial intolerance. One must give him credit for speaking his mind. A Christian minister himself, he believes that "the great wedge that keeps America split asunder is the hypocrisy of the Christian Church." Anti-Semitism, Anti-Negroism, and Anti-Unionism he declares are fostered in the church. "No one can say that Christianity has failed. It has never been tried." Powell is an advocate of non-violent mass protest; he may be bitter, but what he says is worth thinking about if we are really to enter upon a new era.

Justice and the Social Order by Emil Brunner, (Harper's, $3.00), is an interesting discussion of the need for a new understanding of justice, as it applies to peoples all over the world. He believes that the Western idea of justice has disintegrated, and that justice is the one thing for which the world is crying, although we are generally ignorant of its principles. (The book jacket states that "this same ignorance also led Prof. Brunner to write this book"—which is hardly fair to the author). Over the years justice has become mere convention; the totalitarian regimes reached the depths by deciding themselves what justice was. Brunner essays to show that the Scripture contains the necessary principles for the guidance of men. The need for cooperative action between labor and industry, and the obligation of the churches to take part in the putting to right of the world, form parts of his argument.

BIOGRAPHY

It would be difficult to select a better subject for an informal, chatty biography than the late Governor Alfred E. Smith. *Al Smith, American,* by Frank Graham, (Putman, $2.50), is the success story of the New York east side boy rising through politics to pretty close to the top. Graham makes no attempt

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to show his subject other than what he was: of the people and for the people. Besides portraying Smith's steady rise, Graham recounts many incidents to show the character of the man, beloved by friends and political foes alike, and by men of all religions. It might be said that Al Smith himself would approve of the style; simple and blunt about a simple man.

AMERICANA

The lure of the railroad, well blended with the history of our northeast states, makes the basis of *Steelways of New England* by Alvin F. Harlow, (Creative Age, $3.50). Massachusetts saw the first (horse-drawn) railroad, and the first sleeping car was not designed by Pullman, but by a Massachusetts citizen named Morgan. The early days of the rail-minded promoters were generally headaches caused half by financing and half by construction problems; the scepticism of legislators and financiers was a natural thing a hundred years ago. Harlow makes his book a loving "biography" of the steel rail, relating historical anecdotes and events and describing personalities and places in a narrative that makes good reading.

In the 800 pages of *A Benjamin Franklin Reader,* edited by Nathan G. Goodman (Crowell, $3.50), will be found an excellent and liberal selection from the pen of Poor Richard, ranging from essays on religious topics to typography, science, public policy and other matters. There are examples of Franklin's interest in almost every subject. Those not familiar with his works will be both entertained and surprised by some of his discoveries; his simple arrangement of bifocal spectacles for his own use 150 years ago is an example. Two hundred pages are devoted to his unfinished biography. The editor divides the papers into topical sections, each with a suitable introduction.

WAR

Fighting Divisions, by Chief Warrant Officer E. J. Kahn, Jr. and Technical Sergeant Henry McLemore, (Infantry Journal, $2.50), is "an attempt to give enough material on every one of our Army Divisions to give the average citizen a clear idea of where each has been and what each has done." It doesn't. From the individual regimental histories the reader can get a picture of the hells the infantry went through; single episodes of heroism or danger, and an understanding of what war means. It is a misfortune that it is impossible to put into one volume all the history of the fighting divisions, but that would be the only way to give "average citizen" a clear picture of what the boys endured. This book gives no picture of war; it reads like the report of a book-jacket specialist.

Chungking Listening Post, by Mark Tennien, (Creative Age, $2.50), is the report of Father Tennien, a Maryknoll missioner, on his years in China during the war. There is little of his religious mission in the volume, except in the mention of good works well done, but there is much of human interest and humane intercession in behalf of the victims of the Japanese. Some of his memoirs concern other priests and the tight spots in which they found themselves. The book reveals

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some of the relief work done by the missioners, and it also seems to reveal that Father Tennien has little love for Chinese Communists, or perhaps all Communists. The report of the negotiations under the sponsorship of General Wedemeyer and Patrick Hurley stresses this.

A general picture of the war, intended as a summary of reports, correspondents' accounts, official sources and the works of other writers, is the mission of *The Story of the Second World War,* Edited, with Historical Narrative, by Henry Steele Commager, (Little, Brown, $3.00). The volume is not a formal history; it is made up of selections from other writers' pens, strung together by the editor to form a continuous story.

It's Tomorrow Out Here, by Max Miller, (Whittlesey House, $3.00), was apparently intended as a memorial to the Seabees whose job it was to follow the island-hopping combat troops, clean out lurking Japs and rebuild. The clear text and excellent official U.S. Navy photographs by Lt. Comdr. Charles E. Kerlee serve that purpose well; Miller does not show the work as glorious or fame-making, but as a disagreeable and dangerous chore that had to be done, and was well done. The book makes a fine memorial and a distinct argument against war.

An important review of the war in the Pacific is contained in *Great Pacific Victory,* by Gilbert Cant, (John Day, $3.50). It describes in detail the progress of the Army, the Navy and the Marines from the Solomons to Tokyo, with maps and battle diagrams. Some of the facts mentioned, while possibly not withheld before, are given greater importance by their connection with events, and the purposes and objectives of some of the strategy becomes clear. One fault of the book is the emphasis on the commanding officers of each group and action; the gobs and the GI's are taken for granted.

The lighter side of the war is covered well in *My Yankee Paris,* by Herbert E. French, (Vanguard, $2.50). It is an informal, and not too informative report of what the boys saw and did in Paris. In rollicking style French confesses his dates with the girls, his weaknesses at French conversation, the high price of entertainment, etc., all of which helps to give an idea of what the boys saw and did. Some of it is humorous, some of it descriptive. Illustrations by Anatole Kovarsky help you grasp any situations the text fails to make clear, which aren't many.

Paris of the refugees, the seamy side, with its loves, its hates and its case histories, is the locale of *Arch of Triumph,* by Erich Maria Remarque, (Appleton-Century, $3.00). It is the story of a refugee surgeon from Germany, whose skill surpasses that of the resident doctors, and whose understanding of despair and lonesomeness balances his own misfortunes. It is also a triumph for Remarque; it is powerful, absorbing and enlightening on the social side of life under war conditions.

There are some fine stories, interesting for themselves and in addition picturing life in Denmark a century ago, in *Twelve Stories,* by Steen Steensen Blicher, (Princeton Uni-

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versity Press, for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, $3.00). Blicher, considered one of the greatest Danish writers (1782-1848) lived a tragedy of his own, and it is related in an introduction by Sigrid Unset in a manner that makes it like one of Blicher's own stories. In each tale there is a touch of a beauty or a fine sentiment that is delicately brought out by the author. The stories themselves are in the fatalistic vein of Sigrid Unset's own works.

The ballyhoo of the advertising boys who have been screaming in print how their products won the war will sound different to you, and the nonsense written about the men who were heroes overseas and are now neurotics back home will appear in proper perspective. *My True Love,* by Darwin L. Teilhet, (Appleton-Century, $2.75), is the book about returned veterans which should end all such books. It's about a GI, a plain American with usual American ideas, and a flock of go-getters whose ideas are different. There's a lot of homely truth in the book, an underlying serious purpose, and a riot of laughs. It is not well written, but despite that it is the funniest book since *Mr. G. Strings Alone.* One thing is sure, the returned veteran himself will enjoy it, and, unless you are devoid of humor, you will too.

Daphne du Maurier goes back to the romantic days of King Charles I and the devices of hidden rooms, secret stairways, etc., in bonnie old England for her newest novel, *The King's General,* (Doubleday, $2.75). It is excellently written, filled with adventurous episodes, silver plate, love and shining armor and makes light escape reading, particularly for those who like to read of the good old days when swashbuckling knights were in their heyday.

• When the hat which had been passed around the congregation was returned empty, the pastor shook it. Then he raised his eyes:

"Lord," he prayed, "I thank thee that I got my hat back from this crowd."

—Louisville Courier-Journal

• A Californian had gone through life for years without revealing what his first initials, "W.B.D.," stood for. Upon induction, however, the clerk insisted that the truth be told.

The embarrassed man confessed that W.B.D. stood for "Welcome Baby Darling." His parents had been childless for so long that their joy at his arrival made them tag him with this fond greeting in lieu of a recognized name.

• Associate Justice Wiley B. Rutledge of the Supreme Court has for many years practiced an excellent method to keep from talking too long. When called upon to speak, he leisurely lights a cigarette, then, without puffing it, holds it until it burns his fingers. By then, "Time's up" and he sits down.

—Facts

• Detective Captain Robert O'Neal, of the Indiana State Police, received the following message from a convict in the state prison: "Thinking of you this Christmas. Wish you were here."

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

THE first month of 1946 was on the whole honorable, despite calamities like the $300,000 Eddie Cantor musical *Nellie Bly*. Broadway introduced a new playwright of exceptional promise, Arthur Laurents, with his play *Home of the Brave,* and the New York's Catholic semi-professional Blackfriars Theatre brought forth another able tyro, Edwin Bronner with his drama of racial bias, *Young American,* which will be reviewed when it reaches Broadway. The Justice Holmes biography, *The Magnificent Yankee,* re-introduced Emmet Lavery, a writer who has much elevation to contribute but who had not been given a hearing since *The First Legion* more than a decade ago. The indispensable Lunts were also back on the main stem. Shakespeare was in town with one of his least known plays, one of the "dark comedies," *The Winter's Tale.* Molière was also brought in, although through a back alley, so to speak,—and by none other than Bobby Clarke, a clown whom Molière would have welcomed into his acting company if only Bobby Clark could have hastened his birth by more than a couple of centuries—a feat probably not impossible to this miracle man. And to conclude, Jerome Kern began a posthumous existence *via* the revived *Show Boat* almost from the moment of his untimely death during the rehearsal period.

Home of the Brave would be an ideal answer to anyone who were to ask this reviewer why he devotes this theatre arts department almost exclusively to stage plays instead of to motion pictures, which appear in so much greater abundance and technically have so many more resources for expressing our times. (I trust no one will mention radio drama, at least not until CBS has revived its Columbia Workshop and Mutual has launched its new Elaine Carrington experimental program.) Except in its war documentaries, which are not indigenous to Hollywood, Hollywood realism is, as a rule, the pinchbeck article. When *The Story of G.I. Joe* appears on the screen, it stands out as a miracle. Nor is this all: the screen is still a long way off from the status of a forum for the issues that are vital to democracy.

That fine Warner Brothers picture, *Pride of the Marines,* devoted a split minute to the existence of anti-semitism. *Home of the Brave* devotes two hours to it. It does so in a unique and original manner fortunately free from the pedestrian routine of problem play exposition A young Jewish soldier has lost the use of his legs, a psychiatrist emplovs narcosynthesis to open up his subconscious, and a series of flashbacks

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represent the crucial experiences uncovered by the treatment. The soldier, conditioned from childhood on anti-semitism, encounters it in his own Pacific island-hopping unit. When his closest buddy, hitherto untainted by racial hatred, delivers himself of a half-uttered insult in a moment of extreme anxiety, our soldier is shocked to the very marrow of his being. A moment later his buddy is shot by a Japanese sniper, and the soldier experiences a moment of gratification, instantly followed by regret.

Following orders, he leaves his buddy in the jungle, in order to deliver some invaluable maps to the rest of his unit. Military expediency prevents him from returning to his buddy. He finds him only at the moment when the unit must embark without a second's delay; he is not even given time to bury his fallen comrade. The resultant sense of guilt paralyzes his legs. And now follows the painful psychiatric process whereby he is cleansed of his sense of guilt, and cured by the realization that for an instinctive moment every soldier experiences relief that it was not he himself who was shot. He is further re-assured by the friendship of another wounded soldier, who admits to having had the same reaction to the death of comrades. The whole tragedy is centered in the Jewish soldier's trauma, as the psychologist would call it: the trauma of a persecuted race, inwardly insecure, and frustrated in its long search for comradeship. Indeed, there is room here for a long socio-psychological study which neither this review nor the play more than suggests.

Fortunately, dramatic art requires compression and the author is sufficiently theatre-wise to heed the requirement. He makes able use of a three-set production which changes a scene the moment its theatrical interest reaches the saturation, or (in the case of scenes of conflict) the boiling point. *Home of the Brave* never becomes a tract, not only because it moves from the question of anti-semitism to the broad plains of human behavior and the hillocks of the human ideal of democratic comradeship (there are no villains in the play—the evil being located in society in the first instance and in the subconscious that retains the poison), but because it hurls the drama across the footlights into the spectator's mind. Crowds gathered in front of the theatre to talk the play over, and that is all to the good. A social play that commands this kind of tribute has hit the mark!

Lee Sabinson, who gave us *Counterattack* and *Trio* in previous seasons, has again set an example to Broadway, and the production directed by Michael Gordon is on the whole forceful, well paced and convincing. The cast is not studded with tinsel stars but with credible actors, among whom Eduard Franz, Russell Hardie, Alan Baxter and Joseph Peoney turn in performances that match the drama's sincerity.

Arthur Laurents has by no means written even a completely realized play. *Home of the Brave* tends to substitute the clinic for the soapbox, and that is only a half-satisfactory substitute. His third act is an anti-climax in the sense that it fails to top an excellent second act and to lift the dramatic and psychological

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story to new heights; all points have been made evident in the previous scenes, and the pent-up emotions are not sufficiently discharged or sublimated. But Mr. Laurents has gone far enough toward the crystallization of experience and toward moving and arousing an audience to prove that the theatre is still a heady experience. And this is a great deal to say for any playwright, and especially for his first play.

Considerably less perhaps may be said for Emmet Lavery. In *The Magnificent Yankee,* he is hamstrung by biographical material that is devoid of external struggle or psychological conflict, such being the life of the great man he has chosen to celebrate. But if Mr. Lavery cannot move he can at least stand up magnificently like his "Yankee", and he can move us without actually moving on the stage. Needless to say, this is an unusual feat, even for Mr. Lavery, who has written other admirable biographical plays on Father Damien and Cardinal Newman. It is not accomplished without generous help from the noble man who sits for his portrait in *The Magnificent Yankee* and from Louis Calhern and Dorothy Gish, who play Justice and Mrs. Holmes, and Edgar Barrier, who portrays Holmes' fellow-dissenter Justice Brandeis. Thirty-one years, from 1901 when Holmes entered the Supreme Court to 1933 when the late F.D.R. visited him after the inauguration ceremonies, are consumed in this chronicle. Louis Calhern and Dorothy Gish take these years in their stride like the accomplished actors they are. Many changes of make-up, which are the easiest part of the profession, are paralleled by changes of stance, movement and voice, which require virtuoso ability.

Plot, in the conventional sense, is absent to such a degree that anyone insensitive to the human values and impatient with a static stage can easily cry out that this is no play at all. Yet a miracle occurs now and then, and *The Magnificent Yankee* breathes life. And an overall gratification is possible in the presence of Holmes, in watching a man of complete humanity and integrity revivifying American ideals for us. It is difficult to resist the quiet enchantment of the childless couple that led a life of devotion and humor, fought good fights together, and had its household enlivened by an annual son-substitute once Holmes decided to change his secretaries annually in order to give Harvard Law School graduates the opportunity of serving their apprenticeship under him.

The allowances one would like to make for *Home of the Brave, Young American* and *The Magnificent Yankee* become understandable only when one turns to the latest Broadway smash-hit, Terence Rattigan's British comedy *O Mistress Mine.* There is no doubt as to this author's ability to contrive plots and create bright situations, and he can also turn phrases sunny-side up. His play is typical of a clever kind of stagecraft which rarely fails to receive its award on earth because it has no riches stored up in heaven. It usually exerts a magnetic pull on gifted actors who can dance around its hollowness and successfully conceal the vacuum. Since nearly

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everybody likes a romp, the box-office is usually as full as the play is empty.

In *O Mistress Mine,* an undivorced cabinet minister is living with a widow in a state of sinful but genuine love. The lady's 18-year-old son comes back from Canada with a strong animus against the minister as a conservative bungler even before he realizes that Sir John Fletcher is his unofficial stepfather. When this realization hits him, young Michael Brown behaves like an adolescent playing Hamlet, manages to get his mother out of Sir Fletcher's mansion and into a flat, and weakens only when he himself falls into love and wants to impress his siren with the importance of his connections by dining with Sir Fletcher at the Savoy. It is not impossible to make a clever comedy out of this situation, but it cannot be accomplished by Mr. Rattigan so long as he believes that a youngster's feelings and groping have no other value than that of a football for elegantly shod aristocratic feet.

Since Mr. Rattigan has some talent, *O Mistress Mine* is not a depressing example of inept balderdash. His play has the semblances of wit and middle-aged wisdom, and it contains roles that can be acted to the hilt by so deft a couple as the Lunts. It is a delight to have them back in the states after a two years' absence in England, to watch them play with lines like acrobats, to follow the infinite variety of their poses and movements, and to fondle them with one's eyes because they incarnate venial carnality and pleasurable folly for us. Everything superlatively done is worth watching. The Lunts' virtuosity is such that they don't need a play at all, which does not, however, remove the pious hope that they will stop pouring their ounce of civet on decadent playwriting. It remains a mystery to some critics that the Lunts, who have material as well as spiritual wealth, do not devote themselves to the masterpieces of dramatic literature whenever new plays don't suit their talents. It is no mystery: they are perfect actors of the *commedia dell'arte* tradition, and cannot resist a lark. To their credit it must be remembered, moreover, that they have given themselves singly and collectively to such plays as *The Goat Song, The Second Man, Reunion in Vienna, Idiot's Delight, There Shall Be No Night* and *The Taming of the Shrew.*

They could have done wonders, for instance, for the Guild's production of *The Winter's Tale,* giving the illusion of life to this musty comedy. Nevertheless, even without them, this first offering of The Theatre Guild Shakespearian Company has its rewards. The acting version has blown a good deal of the dust from the folio. Henry Daniel makes a convincing King Leontes, Jessie Royce Landis is a lovely Hermione, Florence Reed a dynamic, if somewhat extreme, Paulina, and Geraldine Stroock an authentically fragile Perdita. This is hardly the brilliant or uniformly good production that the Lunts gave *The Taming of the Shrew,* and the interest remains academic, for which Shakespeare himself must bear a goodly share of the blame.

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But it is part of the business of a Shakespearean company to introduce its public to those plays which have fallen out of repertory, and for this reason alone the enterprise is worthy. It is made worthier by the production's ability to skirt the dangers of burlesque, which would have been inevitable if the production had had less competence.

Shakespeare comes off far better than Molière does in Michael Todd's expensive production of *The Would-Be Gentlemen,* since the present version is little more than a freehold for Bobby Clark. Molière combined high comedy and burlesque; here, only the burlesque remains. But since the burlesque belongs almost entirely to Bobby Clark, at least half the evening at the Booth Theatre is fun. Moreover, it is preferable to an academic revival; if Molière was anything, he was not academic. His greatest endowment, his high comedy of manners, is an elusive accomplishment, made more elusive by time, which fades manners. I suspect that only *The Misanthrope* could survive an ordinary treatment. It is unfortunate that Arthur Guiterman was unable to execute his plan for a rhymed version of Molière's plays. Perhaps this gifted versifier could have accomplished the miracle of making them survive in their own elegant style.

In conclusion, let it be noted that *Show Boat,* which is generally considered the best American musical, is back on Broadway, and that the production is as good as the original ever was, thanks to Hammerstein's fine production and its superb performances, among which Carol Bruce's Julie is by far the best. It will take more than the present brief note to do justice to the revival, but it is enough to record that an American classic is on the boards again. By the time this *Show Boat* closes, every solvent American will have seen and enjoyed it.

AT YOUR SERVICE

• Whistler, the artist, had a French poodle of which he was very fond. The poodle was seized with an infection of the throat one day and Whistler had the audacity to send for the great throat specialist, Mackenzie.

When Mackenzie saw that he had been called to treat a dog, he felt incensed, but said nothing. He prescribed, pocketed a big fee and drove away.

The next day he sent post-haste for Whistler. And Whistler, thinking he was summoned on some matter connected with his beloved dog, dropped his work and rushed to the home of Mackenzie.

On his arrival, the great specialist said gravely: "How do you do, Mr. Whistler? I wanted to see you about having my front door painted."

—*Christian Herald*

• Two college presidents harassed by their duties, were discussing what they'd like to do when they retired.

"I'd like to be superintendent of an orphans' home—no letters from parents," commented one.

The other suggested: "Why not be a penitentiary warden? The doggone alumni don't insist on coming back."

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The International Scene

Blunt and bitter words marked the opening session of the United Nations Organization in London. British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin precipitated the exchange of candid revelations by his remark before the Security Council: "I think it would be a great mistake if any country could not have its complaint heard." Then the ominous Soviet-Iran dispute over Azerbaijan and the retaliating accusation of British interference in Greece were given full vent. Tables were pounded. But both the tables and the U.N.O. held up under the strain. If frankness speaks for effectiveness, the U.N.O. blossomed as something more than mere organization.

ROUTINE BUSINESS

Of necessity the first tasks facing the representatives of 51 nations were organizational. Over Soviet objection, Paul Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, was elected president of the General Assembly. The Russians, however, won their round with the election of Trygve Lie of Norway as Secretary General. The General Assembly chose the six non-permanent members of the Security Council: Brazil, Poland and Australia for two-year terms and Mexico, Egypt and the Netherlands for one-year terms. Members of the Economic and Social Council were elected. All through this early business the delegates were serious and tense, aware of the rôle they hoped the U.N.O. would play in the settlement and prevention of disputes. Busy interpreters translated routine remarks into French or English, the official languages of the Assembly. All in all there was little gaiety and less luxury than at the San Francisco Conference, with the visitors sharing the restrictions of London.

A CALL TO ACTION

Before the preliminary business was finished, however, the U.N.O. rolled into action. Ignoring requests by the great powers not to raise the question of Azerbaijan, Iran formally charged the Soviet Union with interference in her internal affairs and asked the Security Council to investigate the dispute and to recommend settlement. To the delegates who had heard the debates in the League of Nations about Manchuria, Ethiopia and Spain, the appeal had a familiar ring. There could be no hedging now. The first reaction, however, came in the form of a counter- accusation. On January 21, two days later, the Soviet Union formally charged Great Britain with interference in Greece and the Netherlands Indies detrimental to the maintenance of world peace and security and asked the Security Council to deal with these questions. The first dispute was settled, as far as the Security Council was concerned, by a compromise, actually a Russian victory. The Council agreed to permit the Soviet

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Union and Iran to settle the dispute by direct negotiation but insisted upon the right to supervise the conversations and to judge the agreement. Despite the undiplomatic bluntness of Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Soviet Vice Foreign Commissar, and Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, the first U.N.O. dispute ended in a reasonably hopeful atmosphere.

All was not yet well, however. Russia's counter-charge precipitated an even more critical tenseness. The ancient British-Russian fight for influence in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East areas flamed anew. "The Soviet government thinks that the presence of British troops on Greek soil . . . is really a danger to peace," challenged Vishinsky. "Preposterous," flared back Bevin. "The danger to the peace of the world has been the incessant propaganda from Moscow against the British Commonwealth." Mr. Vishinsky declared that the Soviet Union insisted "on the speedy and unconditional withdrawal of British forces from Greece" to remove a menace to world peace. Bevin hotly denied that the presence of British forces was a menace and queried; "Is the British government, acting in response to the request of the Greek government in lending some of its forces to help get order and economic reconstruction in that country, endangering peace? . . . I am entitled to an answer, yes or no." The young Security Council was, indeed, on dangerous ground. The United States, France, Poland and the Netherlands thought British troops in Greece were not a threat to world peace and were prepared to adopt a resolution to that effect. Vishinsky claimed the right to veto such a resolution. Deadlock. On February 7, agreement was finally reached and the U.N.O. mastered a second hurdle. Vishinsky agreed not to press his charge about Great Britain in Greece. In an equally conciliatory manner, Bevin offered to retract his demand that the Security Council issue a formal declaration acquitting Britain of the Soviet Union's charges. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Vishinsky shook hands. The issue was closed.

FURTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Less spectacular than the Iran and Greece crises were the other accomplishments of the first U.N.O. session which ended on February 14. In a unique display of unanimity, the General Assembly agreed to establish a commission to study the control of atomic energy. Only the small voice of the Philippine delegate raised an objection to the Big Three resolution regarding one of the most complex and difficult questions before the world.

In a joint note addressed to the Security Council, the delegates from Syria and Lebanon asked that "the total and simultaneous evacuation" of French and British troops from their countries be recommended. Discussion of this problem was under way as the General Assembly adjourned.

Fifteen jurists from as many different countries were elected to the

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United Nations submits a case, it is bound to comply with the findings of bench of the International Court of Justice. Once a member of the the court. Green H. Hackworth, head of the legal office of the State Department since 1925, is the American representative.

The Security Council rejected the Soviet Union's appeal for an investigation of military activity now taking place in the Netherlands Indies. At the same time (February 13) the Council rejected an appeal from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union that the new Albanian government receive immediate membership in the U.N.O.

The people of the United States were particularly interested in the report of the U.N.O. site committee. That committee recommended as its first choice a rural area of about 42 square miles extending from Westchester County, N. Y., into Fairfield County, Conn., and its recommendation was subsequently approved by the Headquarters Committee. Westchester inhabitants rose up in protest at the prospect of losing their land and homes and their cries could be heard far and wide. The interim home of the U.N.O. will be in New York and a commission has been appointed to arrange for the September meeting there. Meanwhile possible sites within the chosen area will be examined.

AN OLD CUSTOM

Elections have not passed into oblivion in totalitarian Russia. But eight years had passed since the Russians voted for deputies to the Supreme Soviet, the legislature which is the state's highest authority. During this time, the war prevented the election of some 1,140 members to its two chambers. On February 10, 1946, citizens once again went to the polls. (Election officials brought portable ballot boxes to those people who were indisposed.) They had been encouraged by the official press to exercise their privilege of voting for the candidates listed, despite the obvious lack of opposition parties.

By far the most popular candidate was Joseph Stalin, nominee of industrial plants in Stalingrad, Gorky, Minsk, Tula and other localities. Breaking long months of silence, Stalin made a pre-election speech. For his fellow citizens, he announced a new (and fourth) Five Year Plan with huge production boosts "to guarantee our country against any eventuality" and predicted a higher standard of living for workers. For the rest of the interested world he had other messages: the war was "the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism"; Soviet scientists could "not only catch up with but also surpass those abroad."

Stalin called the election a "judgment" on the rule of the Communist party.

ALL FOR ONE

Eighteen years of intermittent armed conflict in China ended on January 10. A formal truce, drawn up by General George C. Marshall and representatives of the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist party, was issued. The agreement called for the cessation of hostilities,

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full restoration of war-blocked communications and the establishment of a control organization, with American participation, to supervise the carrying out of the armistice compact.

Progress toward political settlement was made simultaneously. President Chiang Kai-shek made the announcement of the military truce before the opening session of the Political Consultation Conference, an assemblage of party leaders and non-party persons dedicated to working out a program of political unity and democratization for China.

By the time the PCC convened for its final session, January 31, such a program had been agreed upon. The new united China will be the result of the following measures: (a) a three-man committee will work out the reorganization and merging of the Communist and Kuomintang armies; (b) civil and economic reform will be adopted to provide for the immediate freedom of all political groups, the abolition of all war time censorship, the revision of restrictive regulations applying to the press, motion pictures and the radio and the stimulation of self-government and popular elections "at an early date"; (c) an interim coalition government will rule China until a constitution is adopted and put into effect. This coalition government will consist of an expanded "State Council" of 40 members . . . 20 from the Kuomintang and 20 from the Communist and other parties.

Soon after the settlement was made public, Chiang Kai-shek told foreign correspondents that he had not thought of becoming a candidate for President when elections are held under the new constitution. He implied further that he would retire to the background, saying, "After the power to govern has been restored to the people I shall have finished my responsibility."

CHANGING GUARD

In an "irrevocable" step on January 20, 1946, General Charles de Gaulle quit his post as Provisional President of France. The immediate reason was the demand of the Leftists in the National Assembly for an additional 20 per cent cut in the army budget, which De Gaulle opposed. Underlying this, however, was a long-simmering showdown between the Provisional President on one side and the Assembly, particularly the Communists, on the other. Since this was the third De Gaulle resignation within three months, there was, at first, considerable doubt as to whether it was seriously intended or was merely a maneuver for more political power.

After three days of consultation, the French Assembly chose Felix Gouin, Socialist, as President of the provisional government. He was backed by three parties—Socialist, Communist and Popular Republican (MRP)—the leaders of which knew that their government was very much on trial and were determined to show that they could govern without De Gaulle. In the new cabinet are seven Socialists, six Communists, six Popular Republicans and one non-party man, with Georges Bidault (MRP) continuing his policies as Foreign Minister and the Socialists

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assuming the responsibility for checking inflation in the ministry of Finance and National Economy.

Unlike De Gaulle, President Gouin believes the root of French trouble is economic. After a frank analysis of France's domestic and foreign position before the Assembly, Gouin outlined his government's program. The first problem was to overcome the acute shortages of food and fuel, which meant, among other things, the re-introduction of rationing. The second "great problem" was that of the country's finances. To combat growing inflation, Gouin called for drastic cuts in civil and military budgets, freezing of wages and nationalization of certain banking houses and industries.

The Assembly gave the President and his cabinet an overwhelming vote of confidence—514-51.

INDEPENDENCE

Over and above the implications exchanged among interested parties in the Security Council, progress was made toward the settlement of the Indonesia-Netherlands dispute. The Netherlands government on February 10 offered to establish a Commonwealth of Indonesia with the promise that "in our time" the 60,000,000 Indonesians would have the right of self-determination—to choose full freedom or partnership in the Netherland Kingdom. The announcement came through Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, Governor General in the Netherlands East Indies, after he had submitted the proposal to Indonesian leaders. Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, special British Envoy, has been taking part in the negotiations.

Premier Sutan Sjahrir of the unrecognized republic made no immediate comment but it was hoped that he would find the offer agreeable.

REPRIMAND

The United States and 19 other republics in the western hemisphere spoke up to Argentina. In an indictment of 131 printed pages which had been in preparation since 1943, these nations accused Argentina of guarding the seeds of Nazism. The Argentina government was charged not only with giving active support to the German war effort, even after declaring war against Germany, but also with still giving refuge to powerful Nazi interests. The document was obviously timed for its effect on the Argentina elections of February 24 and on the Inter-American Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro late in March to draw up a pact of mutual assistance. At this writing the official Argentine reaction had not been published, but the State Department's "Blue Book" sent President Farrell into conference with his cabinet and army leaders.

RUMANIAN RECOGNITION

On February 4, the United States extended diplomatic recognition to the government of Rumania. This was the result of the Big Three mission to that country as envisaged by the Moscow Conference. With this act we have recognized all the Balkan countries with the exception of Bulgaria, where an attempt to seek an understanding at Sofia was unsuccessful.

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Minority parties as yet refuse to join the Bulgarian government on terms acceptable to that government.

The Domestic Scene

In a shack on the lonely New Jersey coast on January 10, two Signal Corps men waited for 11:48 a. m., time for the rising moon. Then, at five-second intervals, they began sending high-frequency waves through the air, through the atmosphere and into the ionosphere. Two and a half seconds after the last pulse, a light flickered on the oscilloscope. Then followed a series of jagged peaks and the humming sound of a 180-cycle note.

Thus was made radar contact with the moon, 238,857 miles away.

Scientists may argue for years whether this was the first or fiftieth contact with the moon. But a generation reared on Jules Verne and Buck Rogers fell into intense speculation about a radar code penetrating space to reach the planets, about radio-controlled missiles circling the earth above the stratosphere, and, inevitably, about week-end jaunts to the moon at some foreseeable date.

But, try as it would, the American public could not escape its troubles. No amount of moon gazing, scientific or esthetic, could solve conflicts between labor and management, could weld the break in the Democratic party, could hold back the increasing inflationary tide, or could light a fire under Congress. Mere humans were left to grapple with these problems as best they could; the moon was no doubt enjoying the spectacle.

PEACE OR TRUCE?

No medieval chemist labored harder than did top administration leaders last month in their effort to find a solution to the turbulent labor situation. The President's Valentine gift to the nation was the long-awaited wage-price formula. Would it be the alchemy turning dispute into prosperity? Or would it yield but fool's gold?

The protagonists in the formula's manufacture were Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion Chief John M. Snyder and O.P.A.'s Chester Bowles, with President Truman in the middle. Snyder believed that increased production, aided if necessary by removal of most price and material controls, was the way to beat inflation. Bowles contended that price control was the only preventative. Both sides won; both sides lost, in the Presidential directive issued on February 14.

The national wage-price policy was modified "to permit wage increases within certain limits and to permit any industry placed in a hardship position by an approved increase to seek price adjustments without waiting until the end of a six months' period." In a vague way trying to hold back the inevitable tide, Truman insisted that if the general price level is to remain stable in the next crucial months, "the immediate price relief in such cases must be conservatively appraised." Of course, how "conserva-

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tive" is "conservative" depends upon whether one is a manufacturer or a consumer.

The president, however, instantly hedged on this mild statement, emphasizing that price relief must be sufficient to assure profitable operations in the test period to an industry not producing at particularly low volume.

Defunct control over wages was revived. The National Wage Stabilization Board was directed to resume control over this field, but it was also told to approve any wage increases consistent with the "general pattern" of wage increases since V-J Day. On the average, this pattern of wage increases is between 15 to 22 cents hourly, or an increase of 15 to 20 per cent.

The modified policy brought with it another reshuffling of bureaucratic faces. The Office of Economic Stabilization was recreated, and Chester Bowles became its director. Paul Porter, Federal Communications Chairman, moved into the O.P.A. seat vacated by Bowles. All of which made an interesting situation, since Bowles' Office of Economic Stabilization, though it now has increased powers, is still lodged in Snyder's Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

OVER THE HUMP?

For the last five years economists, politicians and the mythical man in the street have been predicting a gigantic labor struggle after the war. The struggle seems to have come and gone. Few people are happy about the outcome of the individual disputes, but the issues *were* settled, at least temporarily, for better or worse, and the job of reconversion could get under way in earnest. Everybody hopes the settlement will stick, but with the arrival of spring, bringing with it the familiar annual threat of a coal strike, the picture is not all rosy.

The peak intensity of economic strife came in the second week of February. For a few days the situation began to assume the proportions of a general strike. New York City declared a one-day moritorium on all business because of the fuel crisis, brought about by the tugboat strike. Philadelphians went through two days of no busses, streetcars or subways. Pittsburg was threatened with a power strike. Some 200,000 electrical workers were on strike, as were General Motors employees and those of United States Steel.

The intensity of the labor problem reached the proportions which dire prophets had foreseen; the duration of the struggle did not. By the middle of February the public opinion of "A plague on both your houses" and administration pressure had helped to turn the tide. The first major break came on January 26, when Chrysler and Ford reached an agreement with the United Automobile Workers. Ford workers received an 18-cent hourly increase, while their Chrysler brethren did a little better for themselves with an 18½-cent raise. The threat of a railroad strike evaporated on January 26 when executives of the nation's railroads and 1,250,000 of the workers, belonging to 18 unions, agreed to arbitrate the union's

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demand for higher pay and a change in the working rules. The findings of the arbitration boards will be binding on all parties. R.C.A. on January 27 signed an agreement with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union for a 17½-cent hourly wage increase. This was the first break in the electrical strike.

STILL STEEL

Yet all these were as of nothing so long as the steel strike continued. The walkout of the 750,000 workers on January 21 in itself came near to being a general strike, since steel is the necessary raw material for four out of ten factory workers. Thus three days later Ford had to lay off 15,000 workers for lack of steel. Of large public interest, but of little economic significance, was the announcement that Henry J. Kaiser on January 19 signed a contract with the United Steel Workers to raise wages at his Fontana, California, mill by 18½-cents an hour, the figure set by the administration and accepted by the steel union but rejected by U.S. Steel President Benjamin Fairless.

The peace restored to Ford and Chrysler would have no effect on the General Motors deadlock so long as G.M.'s competitors could not get steel with which to cash in on the great post-war market. Thus settlement of the steel strike became imperative, and this issue was the prime mover in the new wage-price policy.

The steel issue boiled down to a question of price increase. The union had begun by insisting that no price increase would be necessary to meet its demands for a $2-a-day raise. This union stand, however, soon disappeared. Chester Bowles was reported to have told President Truman that he could not authorize an increase of more than $2.50 per ton. On the opposite side of the fence, Irving Olds, Chairman of the Board of Directors of U.S. Steel, insisted that his firm could not grant an 18½-cent-an-hour wage raise unless the price of steel were increased by $6.25 per ton. As usual, a compromise was effected: a $5 price increase for an 18½-cent pay raise.

HOT OIL AND COLD SHOULDERS

The O.P.A. shift was not the only change on Capitol Hill. But whereas Bowles' elevation had its roots in economics and administration policy, the other alteration was founded on politics and personal animosity.

"I do not care to stay in an Administration where I am expected to commit perjury for the sake of the party."

Thus did "Honest" Harold Ickes, only continuous surviving member of the original Roosevelt Cabinet, make his exit from Washington. It was obvious that no tears were shed by President Truman. The letter of resignation, which, oddly enough, was not released by the White House, indicated Ickes' intention of staying on until March 31 in order to clear up his work including his pet Anglo-American oil treaty. The President, in accepting the resignation, replied: "I therefore accept your resignation, effective at the close of business on Friday, February fifteenth next." And as an additional slap, the letter continued: "I also consider that this terminates all of your other governmental activities."

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The "old curmudgeon" replied sarcastically: "I deeply appreciate the generosity and graciousness displayed in your letter of February 13. What particularly appeals to me is your statement 'I also consider that this (my resignation) terminates all of your other governmental activities.' You will pardon me if I remark that this is in the nature of a supererogation. I assure you that I have had no secret design, having resigned as Secretary of the Interior, to hold on to any other office under your jurisdiction." He commented wryly to 400 newsmen—probably the largest press conference ever assembled in Washington—that "A man who has been here 13 years ought to be able to get out in two days. I'll do it."

This drastic break in the Cabinet all started in February when President Truman started handing around ripe plums to those whom many people believed undeserving of such honors. The fight over Edwin W. Pauley erupted like a geyser, splitting the liberal and conservative Democrats.

Republican senators thought they had struck oil when Pauley's nomination as Under Secretary of the Navy was thrown to the Senate for confirmation. The ammunition from the opposition, Democrats and Republicans alike, was found in the fact that Pauley is a California oil man, and the very mention of oil in Washington has, for the last ten years, caused politicians to tremble. In his new position, Pauley would have immense power over the Navy's huge oil holdings. The belief was current, also, that Pauley, if nominated, would soon step into Secretary Forrestal's shoes.

The Senate Naval Affairs Committee had a field day when hearings on the nomination opened. There was a painstaking examination of witnesses on his career in oil and as the former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

The connection between oil and party treasurer lay in the tidelands off the shore of California. A source of much oil, the federal government and California have been quibbling over ownership. The Justice Department, insisting that the area belongs to the national government, has taken the issue to the courts. California, refusing to let the judiciary decide the matter, has pushed a bill through the House of Representatives which would give California title to the disputed lands.

The fireworks exploded when Ickes was called to testify. He was at first reluctant to appear against an appointee of his boss, but in short order he more than warmed up to the subject. He related that Pauley on Sept. 6, 1944, told him that he (Pauley) could get California oil interests to make generous contributions to the Democratic party if the tidelands title suit were dropped. A bit of gruesomeness was added with the testimony that Pauley had the "hardihood" to broach the subject again aboard the Roosevelt funeral train returning from Hyde Park to Washington. An extract from Ickes' diary read: "This is the rawest proposition that has ever been made to me. I don't intend to smear my record with oil at this stage of the game."

But Mr. Pauley was not left speechless. He flatly denied the charges, while admitting that he had talked with Ickes about campaign contributions

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and the oil suit. But he vehemently protested that the two subjects had never been linked.

The reported exposé and the smell made Democratic senators gravely doubt that confirmation could be secured for Pauley. Even granting that he was a perfectly honest and sincere man, the very connection with oil would not secure public confidence. Mr. Truman, however, remained firm—some might say obstinate. He announced at a press conference that he still considered Pauley an upright man and thought that Ickes might be mistaken. This was more than Ickes could stand, and his resignation and increased vigor in the battle against Pauley followed.

ATOMS ON THE ATOLLS

What may be the biggest show on earth has been receiving plenty of advance publicity. The Navy announced on January 24 that plans were under way for the tests of airborne atomic bombs against warships. The performances are to take place in May and June, but the locale is hardly within commuting distance of the American citizen—or, for that matter, any citizen: the tests are to be held at the Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands.

The tests are expected to settle more than academic issues. Air-minded commanders are hoping that the demonstrations will reveal that navies are at long last obsolete. The Navy brass hats, naturally, are hoping that the tests will show that the atomic bomb is just another weapon which will cause only modification in naval designs and strategy. The world is hoping that the atomic bomb can be confined to peace-time demonstrations.

There will be two tests: The first will be upon a fleet anchored in shallow water, so that divers can go down later to examine the sunken ships, and the second test will be upon ships in deep water. The guinea pigs will be old American battleships and captured German and Japanese vessels.

HALF A LOAF OR STARVATION

One fact became quite obvious during February: The United States was no longer a larder of plenty for the entire world. Two choices were placed before the administration: let the American public continue eating from its relatively loaded table while Europeans shift for themselves, or have a little belt-tightening in this country so that the spectre of famine in the rest of the world might be dispelled. The latter choice was adopted, and grey or cream-colored bread is to be substituted on the American dinner table for a white loaf. Wheat flour is to be made from 80 instead of the normal 70 per cent of the whole grain. Alcohol production is to be cut back to war-time levels. Beer brewing will be cut by 30 per cent, and the set-aside of pork for government purchase was re-instated.

• The Hercules Powder Company has developed a resin compound which may end muddy streets and country roads by turning the ooze to dry dust. No mud? However can we have a political campaign?

—Philadelphia Record

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FORUM FEATURES

Continuing his appraisal of the rôle of education in our society, **Theodore M. Greene** has taken up the problem of the school and what the school must do to approach the major objectives of education (outlined in a previous article). This is the third of a series of articles.

Frederick B. Tolles acquired his knowledge of C.O.'s when he served as educational director at a Civilian Public Service Camp in Big Flats, New York. Since then he has been a member of the administrative staff for the CPS under the American Friends Service Committee and has recently resumed his position at Swarthmore College as instructor in history and librarian of the Friends Historical Library.

The author of the article on the growing importance of Africa in world affairs, **Martin Ebon,** is a member of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association. He served recently with the Department of State as an information officer and, during the war, he was Chief of the Foreign News Section, Overseas News and Features Bureau, Office of War Information.

Wife of a serviceman overseas, **Audrey Adele Georgi** left her home in California to spend the duration of the war in Mexico, a country which had always fascinated her. In addition to other writing, in the past year Mrs. Georgi has produced many colorful and informative articles about Mexico; see, for example, the article in this issue.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer launched his syndicated column in the spring of 1943, after almost 30 years of newspaper work. In the first place, he had become a war correspondent largely because he had been able to acquire a passport, a rare object in 1914. High spots of his between-wars career include the first interview with Mussolini as Duce, eviction from Germany by the Nazis in 1933, the Pulitzer Prize (1933), prediction in 1936 of war with Japan, the French Legion of Honor and interviews with most of the statesmen of contemporary Europe. He is the author of six books, among them: **Immortal Italy, Germany Puts the Clock Back** (the reason for his hasty exit from Germany) and **Global War.**

The desire to go home is dear to the heart of the service man. Consequently any policy affecting such a move receives his careful scrutiny and is apt to be severely criticized. This month's Forum deals with demobilization. **Louis A. Cox** upholds the government's policy. Before he was discharged from the Army last September, Cox was a sergeant in the 409th Infantry, 103rd Division, and as a leader of a rifle squad, was wounded in the Siegfried Line. Opposing the present method of demobilization is **Elbert P. Thompson,** who served until January in the United States Navy. As a second class petty officer, Thompson spent 18 months "all over" the Pacific.

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